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HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS.

MEMOIR OF JAMES GRAHAME., LL. D.

BY JOSIAH QUINCY.

To the Members of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

GENTLEMEN :

In conformity with the request expressed by your vote, in December, 1842, I have prepared the subjoined Memoir of James Grahame, LL. D., author of the History of the United States of North America. Having never enjoyed the advantage of a personal acquaintance with Mr. Grahame, the sole means I then possessed of complying with your request were derived from his writings, and a short correspondence, originally official in its nature, and extended subsequently by an interchange of only a few letters. I should, therefore, have wholly declined the undertaking, had not these slight and transient opportunities deeply impressed my mind with the moral purity and intellectual elevation of his character. It seemed to me, moreover, incumbent upon some American to attempt to do justice to the memory of a foreigner who had devoted the chief and choicest years of his life to writing the history of our country, with a labor, fidelity, and affectionate zeal for the American people and their institutions, which any native citizen may be proud to equal, and will find it very difficult to surpass.

Under these circumstances, my purpose to attempt the task having been formed, I immediately communicated with Mr. Grahame's family and European friends, and received from his highly accomplished widow, from John Stewart, Esq., his son-in-law, and from Sir John F. W. Herschel, Bart., who had maintained with him from early youth an uninterrupted intimacy and friendly correspondence, extracts from his diary, and from letters written by him to themselves or others, accompanied with interesting notices illustrative of his sentiments and views. Robert Walsh, Esq., the present American consul at Paris,

well known and appreciated in this country and in Europe for his moral worth and literary eminence, who had enjoyed the privilege of an intimate personal acquaintance with Mr. Grahame, also transmitted to me many of his letters to himself. William H. Prescott, Esq., and the Rev. George E. Ellis, with others of his correspondents, have extended to me like favors.

From these sources I have been enabled to sketch the subjoined outline of Mr. Grahame's life and character ; in doing which, I have studied, as far as possible, to make his own language the expositor of his mind and motives.

JOSIAH QUINCY.

Cambridge, 28 July, 1845.

JAMES GRAHAME, the subject of this Memoir, was born in Glasgow, Scotland, on the 21st of December, 1790, of a family distinguished, in its successive generations, by intellectual vigor and attainments, united with a zeal for civil liberty, chastened and directed by elevated religious sentiment.

His paternal grandfather, Thomas Grahame, was eminent for piety, generosity, and talent. Presiding in the Admiralty Court, at Glasgow, he is stated to have been the first British judge who decreed the liberation of a negro slave brought into Great Britain, on the ground, that "a guiltless human being, in that country, *must* be free"; a judgment preceding by some years the celebrated decision of Lord Mansfield on the same point. In the war for the independence of the United States, he was an early and uniform opponent of the pretensions and policy of Great Britain; declaring, in the very commencement of the contest, that "it was like the controversy of Athens with Syracuse, and he was persuaded it would end in the same way."

He died in 1791, at the age of sixty, leaving two sons, Robert and James. Of these, the youngest, James, was esteemed for his moral worth, and admired for his genius; delighting his friends and companions by the readiness and playfulness of his wit, and commanding the reverence of all who knew him, by the purity of a life under the guidance of an ever active religious principle. He was the author of a poem entitled "The Sabbath," which, admired on its first publication, still retains its celebrity among the minor effusions of the poetic genius of Britain.

Robert, the elder of the sons of Thomas Grahame, and father of the subject of this Memoir, inheriting the virtues of his ancestors, and imbued with their spirit, has sustained, through a long life, not yet terminated, the character of a uniform friend of liberty. His zeal in its cause rendered him, at different periods, obnoxious to the suspicions of the British government. When the ministry attempted to control the expression of public opinion by the prosecution of Horne Tooke, a secretary of state's warrant was issued against him; from the consequences of which he was saved through the acquittal of Tooke by a London jury. When Castlereagh's ascendant policy had excited the people of Scotland to a state of revolt, and several persons were prosecuted for high-treason, whose poverty prevented them from engaging the best counsel, he brought down, at his own charge, for their defence, distinguished English lawyers from London, they being deemed better acquainted than those of Scotland with the law of high-treason; and the result was the acquittal of the persons indicted. He sympathized with the Americans in their struggle for independence, and rejoiced in their success. Regarding the French Revolution as a shoot from the American stock, he hailed its progress in its early stages with satisfaction and hope. So long as its leaders restricted themselves to argument and persuasion, he was their adherent and advocate; but withdrew his countenance when they resorted to terror and violence.

By his profession as writer to the signet* he acquired fortune and eminence. Though distinguished for public and private worth and well directed talent, his political course excluded him from official power and distinction, until 1833, when, after the passing of the Reform Bill, he was unanimously chosen, at the age of seventy-four, without any canvass or solicitation on his part, at the first election under the reformed constituency, Lord Provost of Glasgow. His character is not without interest to the American people; for his son, whose respect for his talents and virtues fell little short of admiration, acknowledges that it was his father's suggestion and encourage-

* An attorney.

ment which first turned his thoughts to writing the history of the United States.

Under such paternal influences, James Grahame, our historian, was early imbued with the spirit of liberty. His mind became familiarized with its principles and their limitations. Even in boyhood, his thoughts were directed towards that transatlantic people whose national existence was the work of that spirit, and whose institutions were framed with an express view to maintain and perpetuate it.

His early education was domestic. A French emigrant priest taught him the first elements of learning. He then passed through the regular course of instruction at the Grammar School of Glasgow, and afterwards attended the classes at the University in that city. In both he was distinguished by his proficiency. After pursuing a preparatory course in geometry and algebra, hearing the lectures of Professor Playfair, and reviewing his former studies under private tuition, he entered, about his twentieth year, St. John's College, Cambridge. But his connection with the University was short. In an excursion during one of the vacations, he formed an attachment to the lady whom he afterwards married; becoming, in consequence, desirous of an early establishment in life, he terminated abruptly his academical connections, and commenced a course of professional study preparatory to his admission to the Scottish bar.

At Cambridge he had the happiness to form an acquaintance, which ripened into friendship, with Mr. Herschel, now known to the world as Sir John F. W. Herschel, Bart., and by the high rank he sustains among the astronomers of Europe. Concerning this friendship Mr. Grahame thus writes in his diary:—"It has always been an ennobling tie. We have been the friends of each other's souls and of each other's virtue, as well as of each other's person and success. He was of St. John's College, as well as I. Many a day we passed in walking together, and many a night in studying together." Their intimacy continued unbroken through Mr. Grahame's life.

In June, 1812, Mr. Grahame was admitted to the Scottish bar as an advocate, and immediately entered on

the practice of his profession. It seems, however, not to have been suited to his taste; for about this time he writes:—"Until now I have been my own master, and I now resign my independence for a service I dislike." His assiduity was, nevertheless, unremitted, and was attended with satisfactory success; indicative, in the opinion of his friends, of ultimate professional eminence.

In October, 1813, he married Matilda Robley, of Stoke Newington, a pupil of Mrs. Barbauld; who, in a letter to a friend, thus wrote concerning her:—"She is by far one of the most charming women I have ever known. Young, beautiful, amiable, and accomplished; with a fine fortune. She is going to be married to a Mr. Grahame, a young Scotch barrister. I have the greatest reluctance to part with this precious treasure, and can only hope that Mr. Grahame is worthy of so much happiness."

All the anticipations justified by Mrs. Barbauld's exalted estimate of this lady were realized by Mr. Grahame. He found in this connection a stimulus and a reward for his professional exertions. "Love and ambition," he writes to his friend Herschel, soon after his marriage, "unite to incite my industry. My reputation and success rapidly increase, and I see clearly that only perseverance is wanting to possess me of all the bar can afford." And again, at a somewhat later period:—"You can hardly fancy the delight I felt the other day, on hearing the Lord President declare that one of my printed pleadings was most excellent. Yet, although you were more ambitious than I am, you could not taste the full enjoyment of professional success, without a wife to heighten your pleasure, by sympathizing in it."

Soon after Mr. Grahame's marriage, the religious principle took predominating possession of his mind. Its depth and influence were early indicated in his correspondence. As the impression had been sudden, his friends anticipated it would be temporary. But it proved otherwise. From the bent which his mind now received it never afterwards swerved. His general religious views coincided with those professed by the early Puritans and the Scotch Covenanters; but they were sober, elevated, expansive, and free from narrowness and bigotry. Though his tem-

perament was naturally ardent and excitable, he was exempt from all tendency to extravagance or intolerance. His religious sensibilities were probably quickened by an opinion, which the feebleness of his physical constitution led him early to entertain, that his life was destined to be of short duration. In a letter to Herschel, about this period, he writes : — “ I have a horror of deferring labor ; and also such fancies or presentiments of a short life, that I often feel I cannot afford to trust fate for a day. I know of no other mode of *creating time*, if the expression be allowable, than to make the most of every moment.”

Mr. Grahame's mind, naturally active and discursive, could not be circumscribed within the sphere of professional avocations. It was early engaged on topics of general literature. He began, in 1814, to write for the *Reviews*, and his labors in this field indicate a mind thoughtful, fixed, and comprehensive, uniting great assiduity in research with an invincible spirit of independence. In 1816, he sharply assailed Malthus, on the subject of “ population, poverty, and the poor-laws,” in a pamphlet which was well received by the public, and passed through two editions. In this pamphlet he evinces his knowledge of American affairs by frequently alluding to them and by quoting from the works of Dr. Franklin. Mr. Grahame was one of the few to whom Malthus condescended to reply, and a controversy ensued between them in the periodical publications of the day. In the year 1817, his religious prepossessions were manifested in an animated “ Defence of the Scottish Presbyterians and Covenanters against the author of ‘ The Tales of my Landlord ’ ” ; these productions being regarded by him “ as an attempt to hold up to contempt and ridicule those Scotchmen, who, under a galling temporal tyranny and spiritual persecution, fled from their homes and comforts, to worship, in the secrecy of deserts and wastes, their God, according to the dictates of their conscience ; the genius of the author being thus exerted to falsify history and confound moral distinctions.”

Mr. Grahame also published, anonymously, several pamphlets on topics of local interest ; “ all,” it is said, “ distinguished for elegance and learning.” In mature life,

when time and the habit of composition had chastened his taste and improved his judgment, — his opinions, also, on some topics having changed, — he was accustomed to look back on these literary productions with little complacency, and the severity with which he applied self-criticism led him to express a hope that all memory of his early writings might be obliterated. Although some of them, perhaps, are not favorable specimens of his matured powers, they are far from meriting the oblivion to which he would have consigned them.

In the course of this year (1817), Mr. Grahame's eldest daughter died, — an event so deeply afflictive to him, as to induce an illness which endangered his life. In the year ensuing, he was subjected to the severest of all bereavements in the death of his wife, who had been the object of his unlimited confidence and affection. The effect produced on Mr. Grahame's mind by this succession of afflictions is thus noticed by his son-in-law, John Stewart, Esq.: — "Hereafter the chief characteristic of his journal is deep religious feeling pervading it throughout. It is full of religious meditations, tempering the natural ardor of his disposition; presenting curious and instructive records, at the same time showing that these convictions did not prevent him from mingling as heretofore in general society. It also evidences that all he there sees, the events passing around him, the most ordinary occurrences of his own life, are subjected to another test, — are constantly referred to a religious standard, and weighed by Scripture principles. The severe application of these to himself, — to self-examination, — is as remarkable as his charitable application of them in his estimate of others."

To alleviate the distress consequent on his domestic bereavements, Mr. Grahame extended the range of his intellectual pursuits. In 1819, he writes, — "I have been for several weeks engaged in the study of Hebrew; and having mastered the first difficulties, the language will be my own in a few months. I am satisfied with what I have done. No exercise of the mind is wholly lost, even when not prosecuted to the end originally contemplated."

For several years succeeding the death of his wife, his

literary and professional labors were much obstructed by precarious health and depressed spirits. His diary during this period indicates an excited moral watchfulness, and a mind agitated by deep and solemn impressions. Thus, in April, 1821, he remarks : — “ In writing a law-pleading to-day, I was struck with what I have often before reflected on, the subtle and dangerous temptations that our profession presents to us of varnishing and disguising the conduct and views of our clients, — of mending the natural complexion of a case, filling up its gaps and rounding its sharp corners.” And in October following : — “ Why is it that the creatures so often disappoint us, and that the fruition of them is sometimes attended with satiety? We try to make them more to us than God has fitted them to be. Such attempts must ever be in vain. We do not enjoy them as the gifts and refreshments afforded us by God, and in subordination to his will and purpose in giving. If we did so, our use would be humble, grateful, moderate, and happy. The good that God puts in them is bounded ; but when that is drawn off, their highest sweetness and best use may be found in the testimony they afford of his exhaustless love and goodness.” And again, in February, 1822 : — “ We are all travelling to the grave, — but in very different attitudes ; — some feasting and jesting, some fasting and praying ; some eagerly and anxiously struggling for things temporal, some humbly seeking things eternal.”

An excursion into the Low Countries, undertaken for the benefit of his health, in 1823, enabled Mr. Grahame to gratify his “ strong desire to become acquainted with *extrema vestigia* of the ancient Dutch habits and manners.” In this journey he enjoyed the hospitalities, at Lisle, of its governor, Marshal Cambronne, and formed an intimacy with that noble veteran, which, through the correspondence of their sympathies and principles, ripened into a friendship that terminated only with their respective lives.

About this period he was admitted a fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, and soon after began seriously to contemplate writing the history of the United States of North America. Early education, religious principle, and a native earnestness in the cause of civil liberty con-

curred to incline his mind to this undertaking. He was reared, as we have seen, under the immediate eye of a father who had been an early and uniform advocate of the principles which led to American independence. In 1810, while yet but on the threshold of manhood, his admiration of the illustrious men who were distinguished in the American Revolution was evinced by the familiarity with which he spoke of their characters or quoted from their writings. The names of Washington and Franklin were ever on his lips, and his chief source of delight was in American history.* This interest was intensely increased by the fact, that religious views, in many respects coinciding with his own, had been the chief moving cause of one of the earliest and most successful of the emigrations to North America, and had exerted a material effect on the structure of the political institutions of the United States. These united influences elevated his feelings to a state of enthusiasm on the subject of American history, and led him to regard it as "the noblest in dignity, the most comprehensive in utility, and the most interesting in progress and event, of all the subjects of thought and investigation." In June, 1824, he remarks in his journal:—"I have had some thoughts of writing the history of North America, from the period of its colonization from Europe till the Revolution and the establishment of the republic. The subject seems to me grand and noble. It was not a thirst of gold or of conquest, but piety and virtue, that laid the foundation of those settlements. The soil was not made by its planters a scene of vice and crime, but of manly enterprise, patient industry, good morals, and happiness deserving universal sympathy. The Revolution was not promoted by infidelity, nor stained by cruelty, as in France; nor was the fair cause of Freedom betrayed and abandoned, as in both France and England. The share that religious men had in accomplishing the American Revolution is a matter well deserving inquiry, but leading, I fear, into very difficult discussion."

Although his predilections for the task were strong, it is apparent that he engaged in it with many doubts, and

* Sir John F. W. Herschel's Letters.

after frequent misgivings. Nor did he conceal from himself the peculiar difficulties of the undertaking. The elements of the proposed history, he perceived, were scattered, broken, and confused; differently affecting and affected by thirteen independent sovereignties; and chiefly to be sought in local tracts and histories, hard to be obtained, and often little known, even in America, beyond the scenes in which they had their origin, and on which their light was reflected. It was a work which must absorb many years of his life, and task all his faculties. Not only considerations like these, but also the extent of the outline, and the number and variety of details embraced in his design, oppressed and kept in suspense a mind naturally sensitive and self-distrustful. Having at length become fixed in his purpose, — chiefly, there is reason to believe, through the predominating influence of his religious feelings and views, — on the 4th of December, 1824, he writes in his journal: — “After long, profound, and anxious deliberation, and much preparatory research and inquiry, I began the continuous (for so I mean it) composition of the history of the United States of North America. This pursuit, whether I succeed in it or not, must ever attract my mind by the powerful consideration, that it was first suggested to me in conversation with my father, Mr. Clarkson, and Mr. Dillwyn.” And, at a subsequent date: — “May God (whom I have invoked in the work) bless, direct, and prosper my undertaking! The surest way to execute it well is to regard it always as a service of body and spirit to God; that the end may shed its light on the means.”* In the same spirit, he writes to Mr. Herschel, on the 31st of December: — “For a considerable time I have been meditating a great literary work, and, after much preparatory reading, reflection, and note-writing, have at length begun it. If I continue it as I hope to do, it will absorb much of my time and mind for many years. It is a history of North America, — the most interesting historical subject, I think, a human pen ever

* A manuscript journal of the progress of this history, including the authorities consulted, was sent by Mr. Grahame, in the year 1835, to the President of Harvard College, and was deposited in the library of that institution, to which it now belongs. It is one of the documents used in the preparation of this Memoir.

undertook. I have always thought the labors of the historian the first in point of literary dignity and utility. History is every thing. Religion, science, literature, whatever men do or think, falls within the scope of history. I ardently desire to make it a religious work, and, in writing, to keep the chief end of man mainly in view. Thus, I hope, the nobleness of the end I propose may impart a dignity to the means."

The undertaking, once commenced, was prosecuted with characteristic ardor and untiring industry. All the time which professional avocations left to him was devoted to this his favorite field of exertion. His labors were continued always until midnight, and often until three or four o'clock in the morning, and he became impatient of every other occupation. But late hours, long sittings, and intense application soon seriously affected his health, and symptoms of an overstrained constitution gradually began to appear. Of this state of mind, and of these effects of his labors on his health, his letters give continual evidence. "I am becoming increasingly wedded to my historical work, and proportionally averse to the bar and forensic practice. At half past three this morning I desist, from motives of prudence (tardily operating, it must be confessed) rather than from weariness."—"Sick or well, my History is the most interesting and absorbing employment I have ever found. It is a noble subject."*

By application thus active and incessant, the first volume of his work, comprehending the history of the settlement of Virginia and New England, was so nearly completed early in the ensuing May, as to admit of his then opening a negotiation for its publication. In a letter to Longman, his bookseller, Mr. Grahame expresses in the strongest terms his devotedness to the work, and adds:—"Every day my purpose becomes stronger to abandon every other pursuit, in order to devote to this my whole time and attention."

He now immediately set about collecting materials for his second volume. Having ascertained that it was impossible to obtain books in England, essential to the success

* Letters to Herschel, January and February, 1825.

of his historical researches, and that rich treasures in the department of American history were deposited at Göttingen, he immediately transferred his residence to that city, and found in its library many very valuable materials for his undertaking. Here he also met with Sir William Hamilton, whose "unwearied labors in supplying him with information on the subject of his historical work, and whose interest in its success," he gratefully acknowledges in his letters; adding, — "To him nothing is indifferent that concerns literature, or the interests of his friends." During Mr. Grahame's short residence on the continent of Europe, his mother, to whom he was tenderly attached, died; and he returned to England in the following September, 1825, under a heavy depression of spirits. He resumed, however, his favorite labors, but, in consequence of the failure of his health, was soon obliged to desist.

"The latter part of 1825 and the beginning of 1826," his friend Herschel states, "was passed by Mr. Grahame in London, under pressure of severe and dangerous as well as painful illness, the exhausting and debilitating effects of which were probably never obliterated from his constitution, and which made it necessary for him to seek safety in a milder climate than that of Scotland. Thither, however, he for a while returned, but only to write in a strain like the following: — 'Whitehill, April 24, 1826. My bodily health is nearly reëstablished; but my mind is in a wretched state of feebleness and languor, and indifference to almost every thing. My History is completely at a stand. The last month has been the most disagreeable of my life. If I am not to undergo some great change in the state of my faculties, I do sincerely hope my life may not be long. My discontent and uneasiness are, however, mitigated by the thought, that our condition is appointed by God, and that there must be duties attached to it, and some degree of happiness connected with the performance of those duties. Surely, the highest duty and happiness of a created being must arise from a willing subservience to the designs of the Creator.'"

Being apprized by his physicians that a residence in Scotland during the coming winter would probably prove fatal to him, he transferred his residence to the South of

England, and, thenceforth abandoning his profession of advocate, devoted himself exclusively to the completion of his historical work, as appears by the following entry in his diary:—“March, 1826. Edinburgh. I am now preparing to strike my tent, that is, dissolve my household and depart for ever from this place; my physicians requiring me not to pass another winter in the climate of Scotland. I quit my profession without regret, having little liked and greatly neglected it ever since I undertook the history of America, to which I shall be glad to devote uninterruptedly all my energies, as soon as I succeed in re-collecting them.”

His journal bears continued testimony to the deep interest he took in every thing American, and the philosophic views which he applied to the condition and duties of the people of the United States.—“American writers are too apt to accept the challenge of Europeans to competitions quite unsuitable to their country. Themistocles neither envied nor emulated the boast of the flute-player, to whose challenge he answered: ‘I cannot, indeed, play the flute like you; but I can transform a small village into a great city.’ From evils of which America is happily ignorant there arise some partially compensating advantages, which she may very well dispense with. Titular nobility and standing armies, for example, develope politeness and honor (not honor of the purest and noblest kind) among a few, at the expense of depraving and depressing vast multitudes. Great inequalities of wealth, the bondage of the lower classes, have adorned European realms with splendid castles and cathedrals, at the expense of lodging the mass of society in garrets and hovels. If American writers should succeed in persuading their countrymen to study and assert equality with Europeans, in dramatic entertainments, in smooth polish of manners, and in those arts which profess to enable men to live idly and uselessly, without wearying, they will form a taste inconsistent with just discernment and appreciation of their political institutions. Vespasian destroyed the palace of Nero, as a monument of luxury and pernicious to morals. The absence of such palaces as Trianon and Marly may well be compensated by exemption from such tyranny as the revo-

cation of the edict of Nantes, which was coeval with their erection."

Of Mrs. Trollope's "Domestic Manners of the Americans," and her depreciating view of "the society which he regarded with love, admiration, and hope," he thus writes in a subsequent page of his journal:—"What is truth? Is it not as much in the position of the observer as in the condition of the observed? Mrs. Trollope seems to me full-fraught with the most pitiful vulgarities of aristocratical ignorance and pretension; and these would naturally invite the shock of what she seems to have met with in the antipathy of democratic insolence and coarseness;—she is Basil Hall in petticoats. Think of such a brace of pragmatistical pretenders and adventurers as he and she, sitting in judgment on America!"

It is impossible not to remark the delight his mind took in any associations connected with America. "At the printing-office of Messrs. Strahan and Spottiswoode," he writes, "I corrected a proof-sheet of my *History of North America, sitting within the walls of that establishment where Franklin once was a workman.*" Again, at Kensington:—"I delight to stroll amid the sombre grandeur of these gardens. The lofty height and deep shade of these magnificent trees inspire a pleasing, solemn, half-melancholy gloom. Here *Penn* and Addison walked. Here Rousseau, when in England, was wont to sit and muse. Sometimes, in spirit, I meet their spirits here."

The first two volumes of his work, bringing the narrative down to the period of the English Revolution, being at length completed, were in February, 1827, published. But Mr. Grahame was now destined to sustain a severe disappointment. His *History* was received with little interest by the British public, and by all the greater Reviews with neglect. The *Edinburgh*, the *Quarterly*, and the *Foreign Quarterly* maintained towards it an ominous silence. Some of the minor Reviews, indeed, noticed it with qualified approbation. For Englishmen the colonial history of the United States had but few attractions; and the spirit in which Mr. Grahame had treated the subject was not calculated to gratify their national pride. He was thought to have "drunk too deep of the spirit of the

Puritans"; it was said that his "hatred of tyranny had terminated in aversion to monarchy,"—that towards the church of England "his feelings were fanatical," towards the church of Rome "illiberal and intolerant."

Conscious of the labor he had bestowed upon it, and of the fidelity with which it was executed, Mr. Grahame was not disheartened by the chilling reception his work met with from the British public, nor deterred from pursuing his original design; the conviction predominating in his mind, that sooner or later it would conciliate public esteem. Accordingly, in the autumn of the same year in which his first two volumes were published, he not only commenced their revision, but began an extension of his *History* to the period of the declaration of American independence. His interest in his subject evidently increased. "American history," he writes, "is my favorite field."—"I am averse to all other occupation."—"I am pleased to gather from any quarter wherewith to decorate my beloved North America."—"God bless the people and institutions of North America! So prays their warm friend, and obscure, but industrious, historian."

About this time, through the kindness of James Chalmers, nephew of the late George Chalmers, he obtained admission to the library of that distinguished American annalist. The treasures there opened to him rekindled his zeal, and he renewed his historical labors with an intense assiduity, ill comporting with the critical state of his health. Apprehending a fatal termination of his disease, his medical advisers urged him to pass the ensuing winter at the island of Madeira; and thither his friend Herschel, through anxiety for his life, offered to accompany him. But no consideration could induce him to leave England, where alone the researches which occupied his mind could be pursued with advantage; and for the purpose of availing himself of the books on American history which London afforded, he established himself in its vicinity.

In May, 1828, Mr. Grahame visited Paris, accompanied by his father, who introduced him to La Fayette. "I was received," he writes, "by this venerable and illustrious man with the greatest kindness. His face expresses grave, mild, peaceful worth, the calm consciousness and

serene satisfaction of virtue. I was charmed with his dignified simplicity, his mild but generous benevolence, and the easy, gentle, superior sense and virtue of his thinking." From Paris, Mr. Grahame travelled with his father along the banks of the Loire, visited Nantes, renewed his acquaintance with Marshal and Madame Cambronne, and spent some days in their family. "The modest, simple, chivalrous character of Marshal Cambronne," says Mr. Stewart, "attracted Mr. Grahame's esteem and admiration, and strengthened those ties of mutual interest and attachment which their former intercourse had originated."

Returning to the neighbourhood of London in June following, his health recruited by his excursion, he immediately resumed, with characteristic ardor, his favorite historical pursuits. At this time the Catholic emancipation question strongly agitated the British nation, and Mr. Grahame's ardent love of liberty and religious toleration excited in him a keen interest in the success of this measure. Having found the climate of Nantes adapted to his constitution, and enabling him, as he expressed himself, "to labor night and day at his historical work," he returned to that city in October, of the same year, and fixed his residence there during the ensuing winter and spring.

In May, 1829, on his homeward journey, he passed through Paris, again visited La Fayette, and saw him in the midst of his family, "surrounded," he writes, "by a troop of friends, some of distinguished character and aspect, and all regarding him with respect and admiration. Thus serene is the evening of his troubled but glorious life." Mr. Grahame adds: — "I had the honor and happiness of long and most interesting conversations with him, respecting the origin and commencement of his connection with the American cause. Nothing could be more friendly, kind, or benevolent than his manners; nothing more instructive, entertaining, or interesting than the conversation he bestowed upon me. How mild, wise, and good La Fayette is! Mr. Clarkson described him to me *as a man who desires the happiness of the human race, in consistence with strict subservience to the cause of truth and the honor of God.* I deem this a very honorable diploma. In the

company of La Fayette, I feel an elevation of spirit and expansion of heart. What a roll of great deeds, heroic virtues, and interesting scenes is engraven on the lines of the venerable face of the *prisoner of Olmutz!* ”

From this and other conversations Mr. Grahame acknowledges that he derived the materials for various passages in the text and notes of the fourth volume of his history of North America. This work he finished in December, 1829. The intense labor which he had applied to its completion brought on a severe nervous fever, which for a short time threatened a fatal result.

In April, 1830, Mr. Grahame was married, at Nantes, to Jane A. Wilson, daughter of the Rev. Mr. Wilson, the Protestant pastor of that city. Concerning this connection, John Stewart, Esq., his son-in-law, thus writes : — “ From this period till his death, Mr. Grahame’s home was at Nantes ; and in the society of his pious, amiable, and accomplished wife, and under her tender and vigilant care, Mr. Grahame enjoyed a degree of tranquil happiness and renewed health to which he had been long a stranger ; — interrupted only, at times, by his tendency to excessive literary exertion ; but at a later period more seriously and permanently, by the dangerous, lingering, and almost hopeless illness of his daughter. Between Mr. and Mrs. Grahame existed the most devoted attachment, based upon a complete appreciation of and profound esteem for each other’s qualities and principles. They were both interesting, even in appearance ; tall and well proportioned ; — their features bearing the impress of a happy seriousness, while their demeanour evinced that peculiarly attractive stamp of real gentility which Christian principles add to natural good-breeding.”

After his marriage, Mr. Grahame resided for several years at L’Eperonnière, an ancient chateau in the environs of Nantes ; Mr. and Mrs. Wilson, the aged parents of his wife, being inmates of his family. “ Through their long standing connections,” continues Mr. Stewart, “ Mr. Grahame found himself at once in the best French society of Nantes. There the worth of his character soon made itself respected. The interest he took in every thing affecting the welfare of the city (to which, if necessary, he

was accustomed liberally to subscribe), the urbanity of his demeanour in his intercourse with individuals, united with the generosity of his disposition, soon caused him to be regarded more in the light of a fellow-citizen than as a stranger; and in process of time all such local distinctions as his numerous friends could bestow upon him, or induce him to accept, were conferred on him. The influence he thus acquired was chiefly and successfully exerted in the support of the small but increasing church professing the Protestant faith at Nantes. To several Frenchmen residing at Nantes Mr. Grahame became warmly attached; but though his spirit of general benevolence led him to take a warm interest in those among whom he lived, and notwithstanding he saw much among the French to admire and respect, yet the character of his mind and habits, staid, serious, and retired, did not permit his feelings towards that country to approach to any thing like the warmth of his affection and admiration for either America or England."

Although Mr. Grahame had finished writing his History in December, 1829, he was far from regarding it as ready for the press. He had attributed the ill success of his first two volumes to the haste with which they had been published; he therefore resolved to devote several years to the revision of the entire work, and often expressed a doubt of its publication in his life-time.

Nearly four years had elapsed, and the silence of the European public concerning Mr. Grahame's volumes had not been broken by any voice from this side of the Atlantic. The high price of the English edition rendered its general circulation in this country hopeless; and American editors were yet to learn that it was possible for a foreigner and a Briton to treat the early history of the United States with fairness and impartiality. The knowledge of its nature and true value was confined to a few individuals. At length, in January, 1831, a just and discriminating critical notice of the work appeared in the *North American Review*. After expressing regret at the neglect with which it had hitherto been treated in America, and pointing out the causes of the little interest it had excited in this country, the reviewer proceeds to do justice to the independent

spirit of the author ; to his freedom from prejudice ; to “ the happy discrimination he had manifested on the solution of the leading principles that led to the colonization of the several States, and the able exposition of the results which followed ” ; and to his having “ corrected with proper boldness the mistakes, whether of ignorance or malignity, which his predecessors in the same labors had committed.” The reviewer adds, “ Mr. Grahame, with a spirit able to appreciate the value of his subject, has published what we conceive the best book that has anywhere appeared upon the early history of the United States. He has not invariably avoided errors, but has coped very successfully with the disadvantages of his situation.” This is believed to be the first time Mr. Grahame’s History had been made, either in America or Europe, the special subject of notice in any leading Review.

This high commendation of the two volumes then published appears by his journal to have been “ very gratifying ” to Mr. Grahame, and to have encouraged him to proceed with the revision and preparation of his extended work. While, under this new incitement, he was assiduously employed in reëxamining the details of his History, and exerting himself to render it as accurate as possible, he was interrupted by events which filled his domestic circle with grief and anxiety. In May, 1833, the death of Mrs. Wilson, his wife’s mother, for whom he entertained an affection truly filial, was immediately followed by the dangerous illness of his only daughter. Her physicians, both in France and England, having declared that her life depended upon a change of climate, Mr. and Mrs. Grahame immediately accompanied her to Madeira ; whence, after a residence of nine months, they returned, her restoration being now deemed hopeless. She eventually recovered, however, in a manner “ incomprehensible and unparalleled in medical experience,” and ultimately attained a state of fair and permanent health, to which the assiduous attention of her excellent mother-in-law greatly contributed.

On his return from Madeira, Mr. Grahame first heard of the death of La Fayette, to whose memory he pays the following tribute in his diary : — “ La Fayette is

dead! This 'sun of glory' is blotted from the political firmament, which he has so long adorned. Every honest and generous breast must 'feel the sigh sincere' for the loss of this great man,—the extinction of an effulgence of honor, virtue, and wisdom so benignly bright. Fully and beautifully did he exemplify the words of Wolsey: 'Love thyself last,' and 'Corruption wins not more than honesty.' He drew his last breath, and ceased to be a part (how honored, how admirable a part!) of human nature, at an early hour on the twentieth of this month [May], at the age of nearly seventy-seven. Pity that his last days must have been embittered by the existing dissensions in his beloved America! Of the human beings I have known, and knowing have regarded with unmingled veneration, there exist now only Mr. Clarkson and my father. It seems strange to me that La Fayette should be no more, — that such an illustrious ornament of human nature should disappear, and yet the world continue so like what it was before. Yet the words 'La Fayette is dead' will cause a keen sensation to vibrate through every scene of moral and intellectual being on earth. A thousand deep thoughts and earnest remembrances will awaken at that name, over which ages of renown had gathered, while yet its owner lived and moved and had his being among us. France, in losing this man, seems to me to have lost the brightest jewel in her national diadem, and to have suffered an eclipse of interest and glory."

During his residence in Madeira, Mr. Grahame continued the revision of his History, and on his return, after devoting another year to the same object, he took up his residence in London for the purpose of superintending its publication. Here, again, his anxiety and unremitting industry induced a dangerous illness. His restoration to health he attributed to the assiduous care of two of his friends, Mrs. Reid and Dr. Boott. The former took him from his hotel to her own house, and thus secured for him retirement, quiet, and her undivided attention. "From her," he says, "I have received the most comfortable and elegant hospitality, the kindest and most assiduous care and conversation, seasoned with genius, piety, and benevo-

lence, and the finest accomplishments of education." Concerning Dr. Boott, who is a native of Boston, Massachusetts, established as a physician in London, Mr. Grahame thus writes in his diary:—"His knowledge is great; his abilities excellent; his flow of thought incessant; his heart and dispositions admirable. He insists that his valuable attendance upon me be accepted as friendly, and not remunerated as professional, service. In this man, America has sent me one of her noblest sons, to save the life of her historian."

After an interruption of six weeks, Mr. Grahame resumed the revision of the proof-sheets of his work; and, having finished this labor, returned to his family, at Nantes, in December. In the ensuing January (1836), his History was published.

Eleven years had now elapsed since Mr. Grahame had commenced writing the history of the United States. More earnest and assiduous research had seldom been exerted by any historian. His interest in the subject was intense. His talents were unquestionable. There was no carelessness in the execution, no haste in the publication. A Briton, highly educated, universally respected, of a moral and religious character which gave the stamp of authenticity to his statements and opinions, had devoted the best years of his life to the task of introducing his countrymen and the world to an acquaintance with the early fortunes of a people who had risen with unparalleled rapidity to a high rank among the nations of the earth; yet a second time his work was received with neglect by those literary Reviews in Great Britain which chiefly guide the taste of the public, and distribute the rewards and honors of literary industry. Although highly wrought, elevated in sentiment, generous and noble in its design, all its views and influences made subservient to the cause of pure morals and practical piety, yet, as has been already observed, it was obviously not adapted to conciliate either the prejudices, the interests, or the feelings of the British public. It could not well be expected, that, under an Episcopal hierarchy, whose Roman Catholic origin and tendencies are manifest, a history of successful Puritanism would be acceptable. It could not be

hoped, that, in a nation which had risen to the height of civilization and power under a monarchy based on an aristocracy, a work illustrative and laudatory of institutions strictly republican would be countenanced, — much more, generally patronized. Mr. Grahame had, moreover, not only imbibed the political principles of the Puritans, but had caught much of their devotional spirit. Hence his language, at times, is ill suited to the genius of an age which does not regard religion as the great business of life, nor the extension of its influences as one of the appropriate objects of history. Owing to these causes, his work received little encouragement in Europe, and the knowledge of its claims to respect and attention was limited. Nor were these consequences confined to Great Britain. American readers commonly rely on the leading Reviews of that country for notices of meritorious productions of Englishmen, and are not apt to make research after those which they neglect or depreciate. As Mr. Grahame belonged to no political or literary party or circle, he was without aid from that personal interest and zeal which often confer an adventitious popularity. He trusted the success of his work wholly to its own merits, and, when disappointed a second time, neither complained nor was discouraged, — supported, as before, by a consciousness of his faithful endeavours, and by a firm belief in their ultimate success. He had assumed the whole pecuniary risk of his extended publication, in four volumes octavo, which resulted in a loss of one thousand pounds sterling, — and that, at a time, as he states, when it was not easy for him to sustain it. Taking no counsel of despondency, however, he immediately began to prepare for a second edition of his entire work, and devoted to it, during the remaining years of his life, all the time and strength which a constitutional organic disease permitted.

Hitherto, Mr. Grahame's interest in America had been derived from the study of her history and institutions; but in 1837 he formed an acquaintance with a few distinguished Americans, and received from them the respect due to his historical labors. Among these was Robert Walsh, Esq., who, after a brilliant and effective literary career in this

country, had transferred his residence to Paris; by him Mr. Grahame was introduced to Washington Irving. Both these eminent Americans united in urging him to write the history of the American Revolution; Mr. Walsh offering to procure for him materials, and a sufficient guaranty against pecuniary loss.

Under this influence, he now entered upon a course of reading embracing that period of American history; but, as may be gathered from the general tenor of his subsequent remarks and the result, more from curiosity and interest in the subject than from any settled purpose of writing upon it; for early in August of this year (1837), he observes in his diary:—"Mr. Walsh, in his letters to me, renews his urgency that I should write the history of the Revolutionary War. But I think I have done enough as a historian, and that a prudent regard to my own reputation bids me rather enforce my title than enlarge my claim to public attention." And about the same time he wrote to Mr. Walsh:—"I cannot agree with you in thinking that our beloved America will regard with equal complacency a historic garland attached to her brows by foreign hands, and one in which a son of her own blends his own renown with hers." Yet, from a letter to the same gentleman in September following, it is evident that Mr. Grahame entertained a strong predilection for the design; for he thus writes:—"The more I pursue my present American studies, the more I am struck with a pleasing astonishment. The account of the formation of the federal constitution of North America inspires me with delight and admiration. I knew but the outline of the scene before. Now, I find that the more its details are examined, the more honorable and interesting it proves. Truly does it deserve to be termed the greatest scene of human glory that ever adorned the tide of human time. I wish, that, ere my health and spirit had been broken, I had ventured to be the historian of that scene. But surely the country, the *magna mater virum*, that has produced such actors and such deeds, is herself destined to afford their fittest historian." In a similar strain he writes in his journal, under the same date:—"The account (by Pitkin and others), which

I am reading, of the formation of the federal constitution of North America, after the achievement of her national independence, fills me with astonishment and admiration. It would make me glad to be convinced that the present people of America and their leaders are altogether such as were the Americans of those days. Far more was gained to America (and through her, I hope, eventually to the whole world) by the wisdom, virtue, and moderation exhibited by her children after the War of Independence, than by the valor that brought that war to its happy close. Such a scene the history of no other country ever exhibited. I wish I had been its historian. But a fit historian will surely arise one day."

Botta, who had written the history of the American Revolution, died about this time in Paris. Mr. Grahame's feelings were deeply moved by the event. "I hope," he wrote in his diary, "that the Americans at Paris attended his funeral. *Though only in heart an American*, I would have desired leave to attend, had I been there." And in a letter to Mr. Walsh, he remarks: — "I hope some memoir of Botta will appear. It should gratify Americans to learn, that, on his death-bed, he related (it was to myself), that his son, in some distant part of the world, received civilities from the officers and crew of an American vessel, who instantly recognized as a friend the son of the historian of their country, — adding, 'That was a rich reward of my labors.' When I told him that Jefferson had expressed admiration of his work, he squeezed my hand and testified much delight. And when I told him that both Jefferson and John Adams condemned his *speeches* as fictitious, he smiled and answered with *naïveté*, 'They are not wholly invented.'"

Mr. Walsh having, in conversation, expressed to Mr. Grahame his surprise at the partiality he evinced for his country and countrymen, he replied, — "As Hannibal was taught by his father to hate the Romans, so was I trained by mine to love the Americans." And in writing to that gentleman in October, 1837, he remarks, in the same spirit, — "I regret when I see the defence of America conducted with recrimination against Great Britain. But I must confess that my own indignation at the conduct

and language of some of my countrymen towards America is at times uncontrollable. I wish that Americans could regard these follies with indulgence, or magnanimous (perhaps disdainful) indifference. For my part, I can truly say, that my daughter is hardly dearer to me than America and American renown."

His admiration of the character of Washington is thus expressed in his journal, under the date of September, 1837:—"O, what a piece of work of divine handicraft was Washington! What a grace to his nation, his age, and to human nature was he! I know of no other military and political chief who has so well supported the character delineated in these lines of Horace:—

‘Justum ac tenacem propositi virum
Non civium ardor prava jubentium,
Non vultus instantis tyranni,
Mente quatit solidâ.’

With the same feeling that tempted the clergyman, who read the funeral service over the body of John Wesley, to substitute, for the formula, ‘our dear *brother* here departed,’ the words, ‘our dear *father* here departed,’ I am inclined to regard Washington rather as a father than a brother of his fellow-men. What a master, what a pupil, were Washington and La Fayette! One day, when I was sitting with La Fayette, he said to me, ‘I was always a Republican, and Washington was always my model and my master.’” During the same month, he wrote to Mr. Walsh:—"Washington impresses me with so much veneration, that I have become more than ever anxious to know what really was the state and complexion of his religious opinions"; and recurring, in a subsequent letter, to the same topic, he remarks:—"I find McGuire’s ‘Religious Opinions and Character of Washington’ heavy, tiresome, and, in general, unsatisfactory. But last night I reached a passage which gave me lively delight; for now I can look on Washington as a Christian."

Until near the close of this year, Mr. Grahame continued to pursue his researches on the subject of the American Revolution, although laboring under a constant depression of health and spirits, and a prevailing apprehension that his life would be short, and that his constitutional disorders were symptomatic of sudden death. But in December,

1837, his physicians prohibited him from "writing or reading for some months, on any subject likely to provoke much thinking"; and on the 19th of this month, he wrote to Mr. Walsh, that he had reason to attribute his recent illness to his "late historic studies, and to the anxiety of mind earnest meditation had induced. For me to undertake such a work," he says, "or even contemplate it, or diligently prepare for it, until my health be totally renovated (which, in all human probability, it never will be), would, I clearly see, be to do to the subject and to myself unreasonable injustice. *I therefore renounce it altogether.* I hope you will not blame me, nor regret the trouble you have taken and the kindness you have shown me with the view of my prosecuting the career from which I have now retreated. For a long time before I had the pleasure of your acquaintance, I had resolved, from a sense of both moral and physical incompetency, as well as on account of the slenderness of my success, the heaviness of my pecuniary loss, and other considerations, to carry my historic narrative no farther. It was your flattering encouragement—the *laus laudati viri*—that tempted me to mistake an agreeable vision for a reasonable hope, and to embrace the purpose I must now painfully, but decidedly, forego.

'Hos successus alit: possunt quia posse videntur.'

Neither category was mine. I had no success to sustain me, and no internal confidence to impel me; but the very reverse."

The charge of "invention," preferred against Mr. Grahame, by Mr. Bancroft, in his History,* on account of the epithet "baseness" applied by him to the conduct of Clarke, the agent of Rhode Island, in negotiating for that colony the charter it obtained in 1663 from Charles the Second, first came to Mr. Grahame's knowledge early in the year 1838, and excited in him feelings of surprise and a deep sense of wrong. "There is here," he immediately wrote to Mr. Walsh, "a plentiful lack of the kindness I might have expected from an American, and of the courtesy which should characterize a gentleman and a man of letters. I had deserved even severer language, if

* Vol. II., p. 64, edit. 1837.

the *invention* with which I am charged were justly laid to me. But the imputation is utterly false. — I have written under the guidance of authorities, on which I have, perhaps erringly, certainly honestly, relied. I would rather be convicted of the grossest stupidity, than of the slightest degree of wilful falsification; for I greatly prefer moral to intellectual merit and repute." A defence against this attack upon Mr. Grahame's veracity as a historian was soon after published by Mr. Walsh, in "The New York American"; which was succeeded by another from Mr. Grahame himself, in the same paper.

Mr. Bancroft, in a subsequent edition of his History,* silently withdrew the charge of "invention," and substituted in its stead that of "unwarranted misapprehension." It is not apparent how this charge is more tenable than was the other.

Mr. Grahame's strictures on Clarke's conduct in the negotiation referred to drew upon him the animadversions of "some of the *literati* of Rhode Island." Through them, he became acquainted with the intrinsic worth of Clarke's general character, and readily acknowledged him to be "a true patriot and excellent man, and well deserving the reverence of his natural and national posterity." Yet Mr. Grahame's mind was so deeply and unalterably impressed with the opinion, that Clarke had exceeded "the line of honor and integrity" in that negotiation, that he appears not to have been able to reconcile it to his sense of truth, as a historian, wholly to exonerate his conduct from censure. Accordingly, in the second edition of his History, now publishing in this country with his final revisions, Mr. Grahame thus alters the sentence which occasioned those animadversions: — "The envoy conducted his negotiation with a suppleness of adroit servility, that rendered the success of it dearly bought"; implying that Clarke, in suing for favors under such pretences as he urged to obtain them, had exhibited a "servile" spirit, "supple" in respect of policy, and "adroit" in the color he gave to the facts on which he based his hopes of success; and intimating that he could find no other apology for his conduct, than "the

* Vol. II., p. 64, edit. 1841.

aptitude even of good men to be transported beyond the line of honor and integrity, in conducting such negotiations as that which was confided to Clarke."*

* It is proper and due to the subject of this Memoir here to inquire into those general facts and circumstances which led Mr. Grahame (the tenor of whose mind towards the people of the United States was kind, candid, and laudatory) to express so strongly and adhere so perseveringly to the opinion he had formed concerning Clarke's conduct in the negotiation above adverted to.

At the time of Clarke's negotiation, Massachusetts and Rhode Island were both present by deputy at the court of Charles the Second, — *both moved alike by fear*; Massachusetts of the king, being apprehensive it was his intention to vacate her old charter; Rhode Island of Massachusetts, who had shown a disposition to extend her jurisdiction over territory which Rhode Island claimed, as also to interfere with the local government and religious liberties of this colony. It was no motive of *loyalty* that induced the appearance of either of them at court; nor was there any thing in their previous history which could entitle the deputies of either colony to vaunt any sentiment of this sort on the part of their constituents.

In this state of things, and notwithstanding "Rhode Island had solicited and accepted a patent from the Long Parliament, at the commencement of its struggles with Charles the First, while Massachusetts declined to make a similar recognition, even when the Parliament was at the utmost height of its power and success. (Grahame, I, 323,) — Chalmers represents Clarke as "boasting of the loyalty" of the inhabitants of Rhode Island, and, in order to depreciate Massachusetts in the opinion of King Charles the Second, and exalt Rhode Island, as challenging the deputies of the former colony "to adduce one act of loyalty shown by their constituents to Charles the First or his successor." "The challenge thus confidently given," adds Chalmers, "was not accepted." The agents of Massachusetts would not condescend, for the sake even of saving their charter, to feign a sentiment which they were sensible had no existence. Their silence, under such circumstances, it is impossible for any fair mind not to honor and approve.

Furthermore, Chalmers states that the Rhode-Islanders "procured from the chiefs of the Narragansets a formal surrender of their country, which was afterwards called the King's Province, to Charles the First, in right of his crown," and that their "*deputies boasted to Charles the Second of the merits of that transaction.*" Now, *in point of fact*, the name of King's Province was not given to the Narraganset country until 1666, three years after Clarke's negotiation; — see *Collections of Rhode Island Historical Society*, Vol. IV., p. 69; — and in respect of the surrender of the Narraganset country, Gorton, who was the chief agent in receiving it, explicitly states, that it was *self-moved* on the part of the Indians; that they sent to the colonists and voluntarily offered it; and does not pretend that the Rhode-Islanders had any farther agency in the affair than encouraging the disposition of the Indians to make the surrender, aiding them in doing it in legal form, and promising to transmit their deed and desire of protection to the English government. — See Gorton's *Simplicities Defence*, pp. 79–81.

In view of Clarke's hollow pretences of loyalty on the part of his constituents, and the supposititious proofs of it adduced by him, it is not wonderful that a mind like that of Mr. Grahame should have become immovably fixed in the opinion, that the conduct of the Rhode Island deputy was not reconcilable with truth and integrity, and that it was unbecoming a historian who meant to be just, and was conscious of being impartial, to refrain from expressing with fidelity the convictions forced upon him by a knowledge of the facts and circumstances.

Clarke was unquestionably faithful to his agency. He acted according to the views and wishes of his constituents, and in vaunting their "loyalty" he probably followed their instructions; and was therefore fully entitled to all the thanks they expressed, and all the honors they conferred upon him. A Christian moralist, like Grahame, who had drunk deep of "Siloa's brook, which flowed fast by the oracles of God," naturally can allow no compromise with truth for the sake of effect or success, and must unavoidably apply to the conduct of men, whether acting as private individuals or as public agents, one and the same pure and elevated moral standard; a strictness of moral principle, which, it must be confessed, in respect of public agents, the customs and opinions of the world do not regard as either practicable or politic.

From Mr. Grahame's position as a distant observer, his views of character and events may sometimes conflict with those entertained in this country ; yet his spirit is *wholly American*, and his prevailing desire and delight is to do justice to the actors in the scenes he describes. The high moral tone, and the ever active, all-controlling religious sentiment and feeling, which pervade his work, inspire the strongest confidence in all that he writes ; and it seems impossible for any one, in the exercise of a sound and unprejudiced judgment, to believe that a mind impelled by motives so pure and elevated, having no personal ends to serve, no party purposes to answer, could, under any circumstances, knowingly warp the truth, invent or suppress facts, or give to them any false or delusive coloring. Mr. Grahame had never visited the United States, and his opportunities for intercourse with its citizens had been few ; but he spared neither time, labor, nor expense to acquaint himself with the authentic materials of its history ; he laid the public libraries of Scotland, England, France, and Germany under contribution to the completeness and accuracy of his work ; and if he has occasionally fallen into mistakes, they are either such as all historians, who rely for their facts on the authority of others, are subject to, or such as might naturally be expected under the peculiar circumstances of the case, — being chiefly on points of local history, in their nature of little interest or importance beyond the immediate sphere or the particular persons they affect ; and when traced to their sources, it will often be found that even into these he was led by authorities whose errors have been detected only by recent research, in some instances subsequent to the publication of his volumes.

In February, 1839, Mr. Grahame writes to Mr. Walsh : — “ You propose (and deeply I feel the honor and kindness of the proposal) to have an American edition of my work published at Philadelphia. Now, pray, ponder wisely and kindly these suggestions. Much as I should otherwise like a republication of my work in America, I could not enjoy it,

‘ With unreprieved pleasure free,’

if I thought it would be at all disagreeable to Mr. Bancroft, or that it would be construed in America as a com-

petitory challenge of an English to an American writer. Let there be, if it be necessary or profitable, a rivalry (a generous one) between England and America. But I am far too much Americanized, to think, without chagrin and impatience, of *my* seeming the rival (the foreign rival) of a great American writer. Dear to me is the fame of every man whose fame is interwoven with the fame of America, and whose career tends to justify to myself and to the world the delightful feelings of admiration and hope with which she inspires me." And, in a subsequent letter on the same topic, he writes to the same correspondent: — "Most sincerely do I wish that an American may prove the great, the conclusive, and the lasting historian of America. I shall be content, if of my work some Englishmen and perhaps a few Americans say, 'So thought an Englishman who loved his country, but affected still more warmly the cause of truth, justice, and universal human welfare.'"

In his correspondence with this gentleman, during this and the ensuing year, the American bias of his mind appears on almost every occasion and every subject. Intermingled with this, we continually meet with manifestations of that all-pervading religious sentiment, and of that tenderness of the domestic affections, which constituted the most striking and beautiful elements of his character. Thus, in congratulating Mr. Walsh on the restored health of his "*wife*," he remarks: — "They say that Americans, in general, say *lady* and *female*, when we say *wife* and *woman*. Now, I reckon *wife*, *woman*, and *mamma* to be the three loveliest words in the English language." And, writing concerning his having completed the forty-ninth year of his age, he adds: — "The period of life, at which, I believe, Aristotle fixes the decline of human abilities. I would give all the abilities I have, and ten times more, if I had them, for a deep, abiding sense of piety and the love of God. May that, my dear, kind friend, be yours and mine! And can we wish a happier portion to those whom we love? All else fades away."

In the course of this year (1839), a highly laudatory review of the "*History of North America*" was read before the Royal Academy of Nantes, by M. Malherbe, in which its merits were analyzed and acknowledged; and

Mr. Grahame was, in consequence, unanimously elected a member of the Academy.

In August, of the same year, the degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred on Mr. Grahame by the Corporation and Overseers of Harvard University. It was the first public evidence of respect he had received from this side of the Atlantic; and it drew from him unqualified expressions of satisfaction. In a letter to Rev. George E. Ellis, of Massachusetts, in November following, he writes:—"Harvard College has long been a spot round which my heart hovered.

‘Ille terrarum mihi præter omnes
Angulus ridet.’

Now, indeed, it is doubly dear to me; for I feel myself, in a manner, one of its sons. The view of the College buildings in Peirce's History awakened and detained my fondest regards. May truth, virtue, and happiness flourish within those walls, and beam forth from them to the divine glory and human welfare! Though somewhat broken by years and infirmities, I yet cherish the hope to see Harvard University before I die." In a letter to Mr. Walsh, in October following, he thus refers to the same topic:—"I am now an American. Your dear country has adopted me. Never let me hear again of America or Americans owing any thing to me. I am the much indebted party. I feel with the keenest sensibility the honor that Harvard University has conferred upon me."

The writer of a critical notice of Bancroft's History of the United States, in the North American Review, for January, 1841, introduced some incidental remarks on that of Mr. Grahame. After bearing testimony to his capacity, though a foreigner, to appreciate the motives and institutions of the Puritans, and acknowledging the fidelity and candor, the extent and accuracy of his researches, the critic adds:—"Mr. Grahame's work, with all its merit, is the work of a *foreigner*. And that word comprehends much that cannot be overcome by the best writer. He may produce a beautiful composition, faultless in style, accurate in the delineation of prominent events, full of sound logic and most wise conclusions. But he cannot enter into the sympathies, comprehend all the minute feelings, prejudices, and pecu-

liar ways of thinking, which form the idiosyncrasy of the nation."

The author of this review was well understood to be William H. Prescott, Esq., and Mr. Grahame thus remarks upon it in his journal: — "Prescott's critical notice of Bancroft's third volume, in the *North American Review*, contains some handsome commendation of my work; — qualified by that favorite canon of American literary jurisprudence, that no man not born and bred in America can perform, *as such a function ought to be performed*, the task of describing the people, or relating even their distant history. Now, I am inclined to suspect that this theorem is unsound in principle and false in fact. I think a man may better describe objects, from not having been inveterately habituated and familiarized to them; and at once more calmly contemplate and more impartially estimate national character, of which he is not a full, necessitated, born partaker, — and national habits, prejudices, usages, and peculiarities, under the dominance of which his own spirit has not been moulded, from its earliest dawn of intelligent perception."

In a letter to Mr. Prescott, dated March 3d, 1841, he recurs to this topic. "On the general censure of your countrymen, that, 'personally unacquainted with America, I cannot correctly delineate even her distant history,' — Queen Elizabeth desired that her portrait should be painted without shade; because, by a truly royal road to the principles of that art, she had discovered that shade is an accident. Are not some of your countrymen possessed of a similar feeling, and desirous that every historic portrait of America should represent it 'as it ought to be,' and 'not as it is'? When I look into the works of some of your greatest American writers, and see how daintily they handle certain topics, — elusively playing or rather fencing with them, as if they were burning ploughshares, — I must respectfully doubt, if, as yet at least, an American is likely to be the best writer of American history. That the greatest and most useful historian that has ever instructed mankind will yet arise in America, I fondly hope, desire, and believe. It would be my pride to be regarded as the pioneer of such a writer, and to have, in any

wise, contributed to the utility of his work and the extension of American fame. I trust it is with you, as it is with me, a sacred maxim, that to good historiography elevation and rectitude of soul are at least as requisite as literary resource and intellectual range and vigor."

In June of this year, he received, and in his journal thus comments on, Quincy's *History of Harvard University*: — "Read it with much interest. No other country, from the first syllable of recorded time, ever produced a seat of learning so honorable to its founders and early supporters as Harvard University. This work is the only recent American composition with which I am acquainted that justifies his countrymen's plea, that there is something in their history that none but an American born and bred can adequately conceive and render. His account of the transition of the social system of Massachusetts, from an entire and punctilious intertexture of church and state to the restriction of municipal government to civil affairs and occupations, is very curious and interesting, and admirably fills up an important void in New England history. He wounds my prejudices by attacking the Mathers, and other persons of a primitive cast of Puritanism, with a severity the more painful to me that I see not well how I can demur to its justice. But though I disapprove and dissent from many of their views, and regret many of their proceedings, yet the depths of my heart are with the primitive Puritans and the Scottish Covenanters; and even their errors I deem of nobler kind than the frigid merits of some of the emendators of their policy."

In the same strain he wrote to Mr. Quincy on the 4th of July following: — "I regard the primitive Puritans much as I do the Scottish Covenanters; respectfully disapproving and completely dissenting from many of their views and opinions; especially their favorite scheme of an intertexture of church and state, which appears to me not only unchristian, but antichristian. But I cordially embrace all that is purely doctrinal in their system, and regard their persons with a fond, jealous love, which makes me indulgent even to their errors. Carrying their heavenly treasures in earthly vessels, they could not fail to err. But theirs were the errors of noble minds. How different

from those of knaves, fools, and lukewarm professors! I forget what poet it is that says,

‘Some failings are of nobler kind
Than virtues of a narrow mind.’”

The complete restoration to health of his only daughter, and her marriage to John Stewart, Esq., the brother-in-law of the friend of his youth and manhood, Sir John F. W. Herschel, shed bright rays of happiness over the last years of Mr. Grahame's life. These were passed at Nantes in his domestic circle, in the companionship of the exemplary and estimable lady who had united her fortunes with his, and cheered by the reflected happiness and welfare of his children. His only son, who was pursuing successfully the career of a solicitor in Glasgow, occasionally visited him as his professional avocations would permit. His daughter and son-in-law divided their time between Nantes and England. Always passionately fond of children, and having the power of rendering himself singularly attractive to them, by his gentle, quiet, playful manner, he was devotedly attached to his little granddaughter, who became his frequent companion. By direction of his medical attendant, Dr. Fouré, an eminent physician of Nantes, he abstained from all severe literary toil, and under the influence of these tranquil scenes of domestic happiness his health visibly improved; nor was there the slightest suspicion of the organic disease which was destined soon to terminate his life. During this period, however, whatever study the rule laid down by his medical friend permitted was directed to the improvement of his history of the United States, to which he made many additions and amendments, and which he declared, shortly before his death, he had finally completed to his own satisfaction, and thoroughly prepared for a second edition.

Circumstances in which Mr. Grahame had been accidentally placed had forcibly directed his mind to the subject of slavery, the enormity of the evil, and its effects on the morals and advancement of the people among whom it existed. He had acquired, in right of his wife, an estate in the West Indies, which was cultivated by slaves. His feelings in respect of this slave-derived income are strongly expressed in a letter to Sir John F. W. Herschel,

dated the 24th of February, 1827. "A subject has for some time been giving me uneasiness. My children are proprietors of a ninth share of a West India estate, and I have a life-rent in it. Were my children of age, I could not make one of the negroes free, and could do nothing but appropriate or forego the share of produce the estate yielded. Often have I wished it were in my power to make the slaves free, and thought this barren wish a sufficient tribute to duty. My conscience was quite laid asleep. Like many others, I did not do what I could, because I could not do what I wished. For years past, something more than a fifth part of my income has been derived from the labor of slaves. God forgive me for having so long tainted my store! and God be thanked for that warning voice that has roused me from my lethargy, and taught me to feel that my hand offended me! Never more shall the price of blood enter my pocket, or help to sustain the lives or augment the enjoyment of those dear children. They sympathize with me cordially. Till we can legally divest ourselves of our share, every shilling of the produce of it is to be devoted to the use of some part of the unhappy race from whose suffering it is derived." Subsequently, with the consent of his children, Mr. Grahame entirely gave up this slave-property, amounting to several thousand pounds.

His interest in the fate of the African race had been excited several years before by a circumstance which he thus relates in his diary, under date of October, 1821. "My father is most vigorously engaged in protecting three poor, forlorn Africans from being carried, against their wills, back to the West Indies. They were part of the crew of a vessel driven by stress of weather into the port of Dumbarton. While the vessel was undergoing some repairs, the people of the town remarked with surprise the precautions by which unnecessary communication with the shore was prevented; and their surprise was converted into strong suspicion, when they perceived sometimes, in the evening, a few black heads on the deck, suffered to be there a short time, and then sent below. A number of the citizens applied to the magistrates, but the magistrates were afraid to interfere; so the people had the

sense and spirit to convey the intelligence by express to my father, whose zeal for the African race was well known. He instantly caused the vessel to be arrested, and has cheerfully undertaken the enormous damages, as well as the costs of suit, to which he will be subjected, if the case be decided against him." In a subsequent entry in his diary, Mr. Grahame writes, — "But it was decided in his favor."

By the same daily record it appears, that, in 1823, his feelings were still further excited on the subject of slavery by an incident which he thus relates:—"Zachary M'Aulay showed me to-day some of the laws of Jamaica, and pointed out how completely every provision for restraining the cruelty of the masters and alleviating the bondage of the slaves is defeated by counter provisions that render the remedy unattainable. — What a stain on the history of the church of England is it, that not one of her wealthy ministers, not one of her bishops who sit as peers of the realm in the House of Lords, has ever attempted to mitigate the evils of negro slavery, or ever called the public attention to that duty! No, they leave the field of Christian labor to Methodists and Moravians."

Actuated by such feelings and sentiments, he published, in 1823, a pamphlet, entitled "Thoughts on the Projected Abolition of Slavery," — a production, which, in the latter years of his life, he declared that he looked back upon with unalloyed pleasure and satisfaction. In 1828, Mr. Grahame relates in his journal, that he had a long conversation on this subject with the celebrated Abbé Grégoire, to whom he had been introduced by La Fayette. In the course of this conversation, the Abbé stated to him that he "had written to Jefferson, combating the opinions expressed in Jefferson's 'Notes on Virginia,' of the inferiority of the intellectual capacity of the negroes, and that Jefferson had answered, acknowledging his error."

The prevalent language on the subject of negro slavery in some parts of the United States, and the apparently general acquiescence of the people in the continuance of that institution, led him, in the latter years of his life, to apprehend, that, in the first edition of his History, he had treated that subject with more indulgence than was con-

sistent with truth and duty. Under this impression, he remarks in his diary, in December, 1837 : — “ My admiration of America, my attachment to her people, and my interest in their virtue, their happiness, their dignity, and renown, have increased, instead of abating. But research and reflection have obliged me, in the edition of my works which I have been preparing since the publication in 1835, to beat down some American pretensions to virtue and apologies for wrong, which I had formerly and too hastily admitted. Much as I value the friendship and regard of the Americans, I would rather serve than gratify them ; rather deserve their esteem than obtain their favor.”

Early in the year 1842, a pamphlet, published in London, in 1835, entitled, “ A Letter to Lord Brougham on the Subject of American Slavery, by an American,” was put into Mr. Grahame’s hands, as he states, “ by another American, most honorably distinguished in the walks of science and philanthropy,” who bid him “ *read there* the defence of his (the American’s) country.” The positions maintained by this writer — that “ slavery was introduced into the American colonies, now the United States, by the British government,” and that “ the opposition to it there was so general, that, with propriety, it may be said to have been universal ” — roused Mr. Grahame’s indignation ; which was excited to an extreme when he perceived these statements repeated and urged in a memorial addressed to Daniel O’Connell by certain Irish emigrants settled at Pottsville, in the United States. Having devoted some time to a careful perusal of this pamphlet, he felt himself called upon as a Briton, from a regard to the reputation of his country and to truth, and from a belief that “ no living man knew more of the early history of the American people than himself,” to contradict, in the most direct and pointed manner, the statements referred to ; pledging himself, as he says, “ to prove that the above-mentioned pamphlet is a production more disgraceful to American literature and character (in so far as it is to be esteemed the representative of either) than any other literary performance with which I am acquainted.”

He accordingly applied himself forthwith to an extended

discussion of this subject in a pamphlet to which he affixed the title: — “Who is to blame? or Cursory Review of American Apology for American Accession to Negro Slavery.” In this pamphlet Mr. Grahame admits that Great Britain “facilitated her colonial offspring to become slaveholders,” — “that she encouraged her merchants in tempting them to acquire slaves,” — that “her conduct during her long sanction of the slave-trade is indefensible,” — that “she excelled all her competitors in slave-stealing, for the same reason that she excelled them in every other branch of what was then esteemed legitimate traffic”; — but denies that she “*forced* the Americans to become slaveholders,” — denies that “the slave-trade was comprehended within the scope and operation of the commercial policy of the British government until the reign of Queen Anne,” — and asserts, that, “prior to that reign, negro slavery was established in every one of the American provinces that finally revolted from Great Britain, except Georgia, which was not planted until 1733.” The argument in this pamphlet is pressed with great strength and spirit, and the whole is written under the influence of feelings in a state of indignant excitement. Without palliating the conduct of Great Britain, he regards the attempt to exculpate America, by criminating the mother country, as unworthy and unjust; contending that neither was under any peculiar or irresistible temptation, but only such as is common to man, when, in the language of the Apostle, “he is drawn away by his own lusts and enticed.” His argument respecting the difference, in point of guilt, between America and Great Britain results as another identical question has long since resulted concerning the comparative guilt of the receiver and the thief.

At the urgent request of his and his father’s friend, Thomas Clarkson, the early and successful assertor of the rights of Africans, he left Nantes, where he resided, in the month of June, 1842, and repaired to London, for the purpose of superintending the publication of his pamphlet on negro slavery. On arriving there, he placed his manuscript in the hands of a printer, and immediately proceeded to Playford Hall, Ipswich, the residence of Mr. Clarkson. Concerning this distinguished man, Mr. Grahame, under

date of the 25th of June, thus writes in his diary:—
“Mr. Clarkson’s appearance is solemnly tender and beautiful. Exhausted with age and malady, he is yet warmly zealous, humane, and affectionate. Fifty-seven years of generous toil have not relaxed his zeal in the African cause. He watches over the interests of the colored race in every quarter of the world, desiring and promoting their moral and physical welfare, rejoicing in their improvement, afflicted in all their afflictions. The glory of God and the interests of the African race are the master-springs of his spirit.”

After two days passed in intercourse with this congenial mind, Mr. Grahame returned to London, and occupied himself zealously in correcting the proof-sheets of his pamphlet. On the morning of the 30th of June, he was assailed by severe pain, which his medical attendant attributed at first to indigestion, and treated as such. But it soon assumed a more alarming character. Eminent physicians were called for consultation, and his brother, Thomas Grahame, was sent for. From the nature and intensity of his suffering, Mr. Grahame soon became sensible that his final hour was approaching, and addressed himself to meet it with calmness and resignation. He proceeded to communicate his last wishes to his son-in-law, directed where he should be buried, and dictated his epitaph:—“James Grahame, Advocate, Edinburgh, Author of the History of the United States of North America; aged 51.” He, at the same time, expressed the hope concerning his recently published pamphlet, that no efforts might be spared to secure its sale and distribution, “as he had written it conscientiously and with single-heartedness, and had invoked the blessing of God upon it.”

Notwithstanding the distinguished skill of his physicians, every remedy failed of producing the desired effect. His disorder was organic, and beyond the power of their art. Such was the excruciating agony which preceded his death, that his friends could only hope that his release might not be long delayed. This wish was granted on Sunday morning, the 3d of July.

“His endurance of the pain and oppression of breathing which preceded his death,” says Mr. Stewart, “was

perfectly wonderful. His features were constantly calm, placid, and at last bore a bright, even a cheerful expression. His attendants, while bending close towards him, caught occasionally expressions of prayer; his profound acquaintance with the Scriptures enabling him, in this hour of his need, to draw strength and support from that inexhaustible source, where he was accustomed to seek and to find it."

He was buried in Kensall Green Cemetery, in the neighbourhood of London. His son-in-law, John Stewart, and his brother, Thomas Grahame, attended his remains to the grave. His son, also, who had set out from Scotland on hearing of his illness, though arriving too late to see him before he expired, was not denied the melancholy satisfaction of being present at his interment. A plain marble monument has been erected over his tomb, bearing the exact inscription he himself dictated.

These scanty memorials are all that it has been possible, in this country, to collect in relation to James Grahame. Though few and disconnected, they are grateful and impressive.

The habits of his life were domestic, and in the family circle the harmony and loveliness of his character were eminently conspicuous. His mind was grave, pure, elevated, far-reaching; its enlarged views ever on the search after the true, the useful, and the good. His religious sentiments, though exalted and tinctured with enthusiasm, were always candid, liberal, and tolerant. In politics a republican, his love of liberty was nevertheless qualified by a love of order, — his desire to elevate the destinies of the *many*, by a respect for the rights and interests of the *few*. As in his religion there was nothing of bigotry, so in his political sentiments there was nothing of radicalism.

As a historian, there were combined in Mr. Grahame all the qualities which inspire confidence and sustain it; — a mind powerful and cultivated, patient of labor, indefatigable in research, independent, faithful, and fearless; engaging in its subject with absorbing interest, and in the development of it superior to all influences except those of truth and duty.

To Americans, in all future times, it cannot fail to be an interesting and gratifying circumstance, that the foreigner, who first undertook to write a complete history of their republic from the earliest period of the colonial settlements, was a Briton, eminently qualified to appreciate the merits of its founders, and at once so able and so willing to do justice to them. The people of the United States, on whose national character and success Mr. Grahame bestowed his affections and hopes, owe to his memory a reciprocation of feeling and interest. As the chief labor of his life was devoted to illustrate the wisdom and virtues of their ancestors and to do honor to the institutions they established, it is incumbent on the descendants to hold and perpetuate in grateful remembrance his talents, virtues, and services.

MEMOIRS OF THE PILGRIMS AT LEYDEN.

BY GEORGE SUMNER, ESQUIRE,

FOREIGN MEMBER OF THE GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF BERLIN; HONORARY MEMBER OF THE ARCHEOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF MADRID; CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE ARCHEOLOGICAL SOCIETIES OF ATHENS AND OF POICTIERS, ETC., ETC.

THE position and privileges enjoyed by the founders of Plymouth Colony, during their ten years' residence in the Netherlands, would seem to be not very clearly defined. Every one, who has examined this part of the history of our Pilgrim forefathers, must, I think, have been struck by the discrepancies in regard to it, which occur in the different statements that we have before us.

Robertson, Burke (in his *European Settlements in America*), and many other English writers of less name, represent their condition in any but favorable colors; and the disparaging statements of these authors have, in some cases, been adopted by Americans at home. The principal among these is the learned Chief-Justice Marshall, who speaks of the Pilgrims * as "an obscure sect which had acquired the appellation of Brownists," and which was forced to remove to Leyden. He then continues:—"There they resided several years in safe obscurity. This situation at length became irksome to them. Without persecution to give importance to the particular points which separated them from their other Christian brethren, they made no converts"; and then, as a cause for their removal to America, he asserts, that, "in the extinction of their church, they

* Marshall's *Life of Washington*, Vol. I., p. 93.

dreaded, too, the loss of those high attainments in spiritual knowledge which they deemed so favorable to truth."

The sneer contained in this passage was not necessary for the announcement of a historical fact, and it is evident that the Chief Justice has adopted the tone as well as the statement of Robertson. For this passage the author has given no authority, although Robertson, Hutchinson, and Chalmers are referred to as general authorities at the close of the chapter.*

Other writers, again, have represented in somewhat glowing colors the hospitality which was extended to the Pilgrims in Leyden, the unity which reigned among them while there, the attentions shown them by the magistrates, and the honors rendered to the remains of their pastor by the professors and learned men of the University.†

The time has gone by, when the just fame which has been won by those men who planted a nation can be either lessened or magnified by the recital of honors that they may have received in by-gone years; and one may search freely for the truth in regard to them, conscious, that, in developing that, small injury can be done to their memory.

I know not whether I deceive myself, but I am disposed to believe that much of what has been written in regard to the position in Holland of the founders of Plymouth Colony is erroneous; and that, although they were far

* See *Life of Washington*, Vol. I., p. 93; also *Young's Pilgrims*, p. 48, note. Chief-Justice Marshall altered these expressions in a subsequent work, but did not pass, however, without experiencing severe reproaches from others, and particularly from the author of the *American Annals*, for the opinion he had uttered. "The historian," says Holmes, "who tells us that the Puritans removed from Leyden into the American wilderness because they were obscure and unpersecuted, must not expect to be believed." *American Annals*, Vol. I., Note XXI.; see also Vol. I., p. 159. In Bozman's *History of Maryland*, p. 376, is a reply to the author of the *Annals*, and a defence of the obnoxious expressions of Chief-Justice Marshall.

† In a work published during the present year at Leipsic, *Die Geschichte der Congregationalisten in Neu-England bis 1740*, von H. F. Uden (*History of the Congregationalists in New England until 1740*), the idea of the author, drawn from the American authorities that he had consulted (among which is Cotton Mather), would appear to be, that the Pilgrims were enjoying, while in Holland, a good degree of worldly prosperity. The author of this book is a clergyman at Berlin, and was one of the deputation sent in 1841-2, by the king of Prussia, to inspect the state of the English church. The book itself was written at the suggestion of Dr. Neander, and, although in a foreign language, will prove, I believe, a valuable addition to our historical literature. The author has drawn largely from Backus, a writer whose candor and moderation seem not to be appreciated in America as they merit.

from exciting, on the part of the Dutch people and magistrates, those feelings of contempt and ill-will towards themselves, the existence of which has been so often charged by their enemies, yet they were equally far from experiencing any excess of kind attention and magisterial favor.

This opinion is the result of some special observations that I have been enabled to make in Holland, and it is the same which, as it strikes me, must be formed by all who examine the writings preserved to us of those who were constantly with the little band, from the time of their quitting England, in 1608, until their arrival in America. The authority of these writings (which have been recently brought before the public in a most excellent form by Mr. Young, accompanied by his valuable notes) is superior to that of any of the different historians who wrote at a later day. While the small, struggling colony was exposed to obloquy in England, and was fighting its way painfully along, against opposition, religious, political, and commercial, it was hardly to be expected that a historian devoted to its interest would neglect to avail himself of any thing which might appear, *at that time*, to reflect credit upon it. It was not the historian, but the advocate, who wrote. Remembering this, one may perhaps see a reason why "the careful Morton" has at times slightly colored some passages from Governor Bradford's *Journal*, and why Cotton Mather has drawn in many cases from authorities which Morton must have known, but which he does not appear to have regarded, and has, in other cases, made statements for which it would seem to require more than an ordinary degree of research to find any authority whatever.

I propose to examine some points in relation to the position of the Pilgrims while in Holland, and particularly the attentions that may have been extended to them by the Dutch people and magistrates.

But first let us see what was their position as shown by the best authority we possess, the writings of Governor Bradford.

Having seen six of their fellow-men—"men of piety and learning"—executed in England for their religious belief,

their own friends put into prison, and themselves watched night and day that charges might be brought against them, they at length resolved, when all hopes of toleration at home had fled, to remove to the Low Countries, "where they heard was freedom of religion for all men."*

After making one unsuccessful attempt to leave England, suffering arrest and imprisonment from the Lincolnshire magistrates, encountering in a second attempt the perils of a violent storm, and being in imminent danger of shipwreck in the German Ocean, one part of these Pilgrims, among which Bradford is supposed to have been, arrived in the spring of 1608 at Amsterdam. Here they found countrymen who, like themselves, had suffered persecution for religion's sake; but, remaining only a few months, they removed, at the end of 1608 or beginning of 1609, to Leyden.†

"Being now here pitched," says Bradford, "they fell to such trades and employments as they best could, valuing peace and their spiritual comfort above any other riches whatsoever; and at length they came to raise a competent and comfortable living, and with hard and continual labor." When, however, in another place, he is naming the motives of the removal to America, a somewhat different tone is used. "And first, they found and saw by experience the hardness of the place and country to be such as few in comparison would come to them, and fewer that would bide it out and continue with them. For many that came to them, and many more that desired to be with them, could not endure the great labor and hard fare, with other inconveniences, which they underwent and were contented with. . . . Many, though they desired to enjoy the ordinances of God in their purity, and the liberty of the gospel with them, yet, alas, they admitted of bondage, with dan-

* See Bradford's *Journal*, Young, p. 23.

† Bradford says of Leyden, that, "wanting that traffic by sea which Amsterdam enjoyed, it was not so beneficial for their outward means of living and estates." Young's *Pilgrims*, p. 35. This may be so; yet Leyden was at that time the principal manufacturing town of the Netherlands, and one of the most important in Europe. As many of the early colonists were weavers (see Young, note, p. 35), is it not reasonable to suppose that their removal to Leyden was caused by the fact that they would there more readily meet with employment than at Amsterdam? The cloth manufacture of Amsterdam, during the first half of the seventeenth century, was very trifling, when compared with that of Leyden.

ger of conscience, rather than to endure these hardships; yea, some preferred and chose prisons in England, rather than this liberty in Holland, with these afflictions. But it was thought, that, if a better and easier place of living could be had, it would draw many and take away these discouragements; yea, their pastor would often say that many of those that both writ and preached now against them, if they were in a place where they might have liberty and live comfortably, they would then practise as they did."*

Again, "They saw, that, although the people generally bore all their difficulties very cheerfully and with a resolute courage, being in the best of their strength, yet old age began to come on some of them, and their great and continual labors, with other crosses and sorrows, hastened it before the time." Again, their children "were oftentimes so oppressed with their heavy labors, that, although their minds were free and willing, yet their bodies bowed under the weight of the same and became decrepit in their early youth."† And again, "They lived here but as men in exile and in a poor condition."‡

This certainly does not show that they were living in a state of holiday comfort: neither is there here, nor throughout the writings of Governor Bradford, any evidence of kind attentions on the part of the Dutch people and magistrates. § On the contrary, we have, in different passages of his journal, strong evidence that no such favors were extended to them.

When he replies to the charge made by Baylie in his tract, || that the Pilgrims were driven out from Holland, and that the Dutch were weary of them, Bradford would naturally cite the strongest facts that could be found to prove the contrary; but the most he says is, that the Dutch, finding them painful and diligent in their callings,

* Young, p. 45.

† Ibid. p. 46.

‡ Ibid. p. 51.

§ It is curious to see how some passages from Bradford's journal have been colored by those who have made use of it. Bradford says of the Pilgrims (Young, p. 35), "Enjoying [in Holland] much sweet and delightful society and spiritual comfort together, in the ways of God," &c., &c. Morton omits the word "together," and adds in its place, "being courteously entertained and lovingly respected by the Dutch, amongst whom they were strangers." p. 18, Davis's edition. Prince, also, in giving this same passage from Bradford, says, they "live in great love and harmony both among themselves and their neighbour citizens for above eleven years."

|| *Dissuasive from the Errors of the Times*, by Robert Baylie, of Glasgow, 1645.

and careful in keeping their word, gave them employment in preference to others less diligent and honest; and secondly, that the magistrates once reproved the Walloons by telling them that they were less peaceful than the English. "These English," said they, "have lived amongst us now this twelve years, and yet we never had any suit or accusation come against any of them. But your strifes and quarrels are continual." * Another thing Bradford states, that Robinson, their pastor, disputed with Episcopius at the University, in such a way as to gain him "much honor and respect *from those learned men and others which loved the truth.*" †

Had there been any proofs of courteous entertainment and kind respect, — had there been any magisterial attentions extended, any church granted, any respect shown at the grave of their pastor, ‡ here would have been the place to mention it. But on all these Bradford is silent, and we have the strongest proof that no magisterial attentions were shown, in his statement, that "it was said by some of no mean note [in Leyden], that, *were it not for giving offence to the state of England, they would have preferred him [Robinson] otherwise, if he would, and allowed them some public favor.*" §

Fear of offending England would, no doubt, operate strongly in Holland to prevent any favors being extended to those who made part of a sect persecuted by the English king at home, openly denounced by him in his speeches, and exposed, even in a foreign land, to the annoying surveillance of his ministers and agents. || In the *Annales du Pays Bas* of Grotius, one sees continual evi-

* Young, p. 39.

† That is, perhaps, among those who opposed Episcopius. But his opponents were, for a long time, a minority at Leyden, the towns-people and magistrates being in his favor. In 1617, there was an outbreak and violent quarrel between the two parties, which lasted several days. An old engraving in *Les Délices de Leide* represents the Stadt House and the barricades near it, that were thrown up at that time to form a sort of citadel within the town.

‡ Although Bradford was not present at the time of Robinson's death, yet, as he commenced his journal in 1630, five years after that event, he might have availed himself of a circumstance which, had it transpired, must have come to his knowledge.

§ Young, p. 42.

|| See Young's *Pilgrims*, p. 467, note, for confirmation of this. A letter from Sir Dudley Carleton, English ambassador at the Hague, published with his letters, announces that he had not succeeded in arresting Brewster (Elder Brewster), as "the schout *who was employed by the magistrates* for his apprehension, being a dull, drunk-

dence of the feelings excited in Holland by the actions of the English, and one may infer from that how little disposed the people of that country would be to provoke the enmity of a nation the calculating friendship of which had been so distasteful to them.*

As to the attentions of the people and magistrates, the principal which have been alleged are, 1st. That a church was granted the Pilgrims to worship in; and, 2d. That the funeral of their pastor was honorably attended by the University and principal men of the city.

I believe that neither of these attentions was shown, and also that the original error in regard to them may be traced to the *Brief Narration* of Winslow, republished in Young's *Pilgrims*, and to the note on page 160 of Prince's *New England Annals*.

The statement, that a church was granted, rests solely upon the authority of Prince, who says, "When I was at Leyden, in 1714, the most ancient people from their parents told me, that the city had such a value for them [the Pilgrims], as to let them have one of their churches, in the chancel whereof he [Robinson] lies buried, which the English still enjoy; and that, as he was had in high esteem both by the city and University, for his learning, piety, moderation, and excellent accomplishments, the magistrates, ministers, scholars, and most of the gentry mourned his death as a public loss, and followed him to the grave." †

No one prior to Prince has mentioned this; there is no intimation of it in Bradford's journal, in Morton, Hubbard, or even in Cotton Mather; and Prince, who has

en fellow, took one man for another." The charge upon which Brewster was to be arrested in a foreign country by English agents would appear to be the printing of books obnoxious to the English king. It tells little for the independence of the Dutch magistrates, that such arrests could be tolerated and aided by them. Let us hope, for their honor, that the employment of a scout so besotted as to mistake his prey was an intentional act on their part.

The unjust influence in Holland of the English government was shown at a later day by the persecution to which Locke was subjected, during the time of his residence in that country. The English minister at the Hague demanded, it will be remembered, that he should be given up, and Locke could only avoid arrest by a strict concealment for twelve months. See Lord King's *Life of Locke*.

* The people of Leyden, in particular, had shown strong opposition to the proceedings of Leicester. See the *Annales*. There is an allusion, also, in Lingard to this feeling at Leyden.

† *Annals*, p. 160, edit. 1736.

generally enjoyed the highest reputation for accuracy,* adopted, I believe, with too little inquiry, the statement of the most ancient people of Leyden. From the words in relation to the church, — “which the English still enjoy,” — it is clear to me that his informants were not thinking of the Separatist congregation which had been one hundred years before in Leyden, but of the English Presbyterian church, which, by a somewhat remarkable coincidence, was founded in Leyden in 1609, the same year, or within a few months of the time, that the Pilgrims arrived there. It is certain that this church, whose pastor from 1609 to 1616 was Robert Durie, was the only English congregation which, in 1714, had a public place of worship at Leyden, and it is the only one that is noticed by the different historians of Leyden as having ever possessed a church. As it is possible that the presence of this congregation may create some confusion in future inquiries as to the church of the Pilgrims, I have thought it well to add in a note some account of their coming to Leyden, of their different pastors, and of the various places of worship which they enjoyed.† At the time of Prince’s visit to Leyden, in 1714, this congregation, under the pastoral care of Robert Milling, was worshipping in a chapel formed of part of the ground-floor of the *Falyde Bagyn Hof Kerk*. This chapel — now (1842) the dissecting-room of the College of Medicine — continued in the hands of the English until 1807, when, their last pastor dying, the congregation was dispersed; and it is this chapel which, from being shown to American travellers as the old church of the English, has, I believe, been sometimes supposed by them to have been the church of the Pilgrims.‡

Another error in this passage from Prince relates to

* “The careful Thomas Prince,” says Bancroft, Vol. I., p. 324, “who merits the gratitude of the inquirer for his judgment and research as an annalist.” Davis also alludes to him, in a note to Morton’s *New England’s Memorial*, as “the accurate compiler.”

† See Note A., at the end of this article.

‡ See Young’s *Pilgrims*, p. 393, note, where is an extract from a letter of Mrs. Adams, wife of President John Adams, dated Sept. 12th, 1786. “I would not omit to mention that I visited the church at Leyden, in which our forefathers worshipped when they fled from hierarchical tyranny and persecution. I felt a respect and veneration, upon entering the doors, like what the ancients paid to their Druids.”

the burial-place of Robinson. "In the chancel whereof he lies buried." Now Robinson was not buried in the chancel of the church in which he had preached (if he had preached in any), but under the pavement of the aisle of the Peter's Church, the former cathedral; and this I shall show farther on by two separate records of his interment.*

Had Robinson's congregation enjoyed any church, it must have been by an act of the magistrates; for, after the Reformation in Holland, the control of all church buildings and ecclesiastical funds was transferred to the civil authorities. These funds are in part preserved to the present day, and the payment of all clergymen, of different denominations, is still, in the Netherlands, one of the regular expenses of the state.† With some difficulty, I obtained permission to have the *Daybook* of the magistrates of Leyden examined, for 1608, 1609, and 1620; and although the grant made to the English congregation, of which I have just spoken, of a chapel attached to Saint Catherine's Almshouse, is there recorded, yet no notice was to be found of any church being granted to, or of any magisterial act being performed in favor of, any other English congregation.‡

* To one at a distance, on looking at these passages from Prince in connection with the fact of Robinson's burial at the Peter's Church, the idea might suggest itself that it was that — the Cathedral Church — which had been granted to his congregation. But, besides that the records of the Peter's Church show nothing of the kind, a moment's reflection will make clear its improbability. To the other English congregation, which they were not prevented through fear of England from favoring, the magistrates only granted the use of a small chapel, the Catherine's, which served, at the same time, for the French Protestants. (See Note A.) To a sect with which they had no communion, and which they feared to favor, they would not be likely to give up their own "high-church."

† The different churches in the Netherlands are now under the control of two departments, one of which is devoted to the Protestant, the other to the Catholic church. At the head of each department is a Director-General, whose rank and pay are but little lower than those of a cabinet minister. The expenses of religion are paid entirely by the state, unless a congregation see fit to give their pastor more than the regular salary assigned to him. The budget for 1843 of the Director-General of the Reformed Church is of 1,432,142 florins, of forty cents American each. Of this sum, 1,058,807 florins is for the Reformed (Calvinist) churches; 34,940 florins for the Lutheran; 9,900, for the Anabaptists; 21,000 florins for the Remonstrants; and 22,350 florins for Jewish Rabbis, and repairs of the synagogues. Of the remainder, 31,800 florins are taken up by the expenses of the department, including 8,000 florins, the salary of the Director-General, and the rest is devoted to the education of small children of the different sects.

The budget of the Catholic direction is of 520,000 florins. Since the separation of Belgium, this department has lost much of its former importance.

‡ Neal, in his *History of the Puritans*, says (Vol. I., p. 577), under date 1595: — "The violent proceedings of the bishops drove great numbers of the Brownists into

Again, there are two very voluminous histories of Leyden; one, the *Beschrijving der Stadt Leyden, door Orlers*, 4to., Leyden, 1641; the other, *Beschrijving der Stad Leyden, door Van Mieris*, 3 vol., fol., Leyden, 1762; in both of which the history of each church is given separately, as is also that of the small chapels attached to the different almshouses. These notices are written with great apparent accuracy, and certainly with great minuteness, — many pages being often devoted to the smallest *Gasthuys Kapelletje*, every change in its different occupants mentioned, the acts of the magistrates in relation to it recorded, and in some cases the putting of new planks to the floor, or fresh whitewash upon the walls, most faithfully chronicled. Yet, with all this minuteness, I can find in neither of these books any allusion whatever to the presence in Leyden of any other English community than that of which I have before spoken.

I think that the absence of all record at Leyden, and the absence of all notice in the early writings of the Pilgrims, give strong grounds for believing that no church was granted to them, and I may cite again that passage of Bradford's journal in which he states, that, but for fear of offending England, they would have received some public favor. The public favor to be shown would certainly be the granting them a public place of worship.

I am myself convinced that no regular church was granted them, and I am disposed to believe that their religious assemblies were held in some hired hall, or in the

Holland, where their leaders, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Smith, Mr. Ainsworth, Mr. Robinson, Mr. Jacob, and others, *were gone beforehand, and, with the leave of the States, were erecting churches,*" &c. For this statement he gives no authority, and his accuracy in facts would seem to be no greater than in dates. In his second volume, p. 47, he alludes to the treaty with Queen Elizabeth, under which Presbyterian churches were erected in the Netherlands. In Note A., I shall give the fourteenth clause of the treaty of 1565, the only *early* treaty between England and the Netherlands, containing a stipulation upon matters of religion; but I am unable to find in the records of the States General, which I examined at the Hague, any thing to justify the first statement of Neal. There is, indeed, a short notice, on the 5th October, 1596, stating that the propositions of several English, in different cities, on matters of religion, were advertised, in order that the cities might know of them in time; but I can find nothing further in the records relating to English religious affairs, up to 1620, the point at which my examination stopped. What the propositions were does not appear. The following is a copy of the record: —

"1596, Octob. 5. -- Is openingne en advertentie gedaan van het geene by eenige van de Engelsche Natie in verscheide steeden op het stuk van de Religie word voorgesteld, ten einde de Steeden willen in tyds daar op letten dat egeene inconveniënten daar uit en koomen te onstaan."

house of Robinson, their pastor. That it was not uncommon, at that time, for different sects in the Netherlands to hold religious meetings in private houses, we have the authority of Cardinal Bentivoglio, who, in his *Relazione di Fiandra*, tells us, that "the public exercises of religion are not permitted in the cities to any sect but the Calvinists, neither is it allowed that any other doctrines than theirs shall be taught publicly in the schools. The exercises of all others are permitted in private houses, which are in fact, as if public, the places of preaching being spacious and of sufficient size for any assembly."* No allusion to their place of worship can, I believe, be found in any of the original writings of the Pilgrims,

* "Non vien permesso però l'esercizio publico nelle città se non a' Calvinisti, come ho accennato di sopra; nè si consente, che s'insegnì altra dottrina pubblicamente nelle scuole, che quella della lor setta. A tutte l'altre è permesso l'esercizio nelle case private; che si possono dir però come pubbliche, predicandosi in luoghi spatiosi, e capaci d'ogni concorso." Bentivoglio, *Relazione di Fiandra*, Parte II., Cap. II.

Both Bancroft, in his *History*, and Young, in his notes, have referred to Bentivoglio, as authority for statements made in their respective writings. The former says, Vol. I., p. 392, — "His [Robinson's] congregation inspired the nuncio of Rome with respect"; and Young, in a note on p. 43, says, — "The English Separatists in Holland attracted the notice of Cardinal Bentivoglio." I should feel great delicacy in differing from either of these accomplished writers, but I must confess my inability to find in Bentivoglio's writings any allusion either to "*Robinson's congregation*," or to "*the English Separatists*," in Holland. There is, however, in immediate connection with the passage I have cited above, an allusion to certain *Puritani d'Inghilterra*; but does not that apply to the different English and Scottish Presbyterian congregations which were at that time collected in most of the large towns of the Netherlands? (See Note A.) These congregations, of which Ames, Parker, and others were the preachers, were known as *Puritans*; while Robinson's church at Leyden, and Johnson's at Amsterdam, were known only as Brownists or Separatists. In Governor Bradford's *Dialogue* (see Young, p. 436), he speaks of "those reproached by the name of Puritans" as persons quite distinct from "those that are reproached by the name of Brownists and Separatists."

Again, Bentivoglio makes no allusion to the English Puritans being at Leyden, but says, after naming the towns in which the principal heretical sects are distributed: — "I Puritani Inglesi sono in Amsterdam quasi tutti per l'istesso rispetto [occasione del traffico]; e se ne trattengono alcuni medesimamente per occasione di mercantia nella città di Midelburgo in Zelanda." I am not aware that any Separatist congregation existed at Middleburg, except for a few years prior to 1589, — during the time, in fact, that Brown was taking refuge in that city; there was, however, in that place, an English Presbyterian church, connected with the English factory, for this was a place of much resort for English traders. In Bradford's *Dialogue* (see Young, p. 424), he tells us that Johnson, who afterwards became the teacher of the Separatists at Amsterdam, was preacher, at one time, "to the company of English of the Staple of Middleburg," — and the Presbyterian church formed of that company is the one, I should suppose, to which Bentivoglio alludes.

I do not find, in other parts of Bentivoglio's writings, any passage which shows that he was acquainted with the existence of a sect of Separatists distinct from the Puritans or Presbyterians. In his essay *Dello Stato della Religione in Scotia*, he speaks of the Catholics and *Puritans* as being the two sects of the country; and in his other essay, *Della Religione in Inghilterra*, he alludes to three sects, — first the Catholics, then the Protestant Calvinists, — and continues, — "Sono in gran numero ancora in Inghilterra i puri Calvinisti che si chiamano Puritani."

nor in those of any other person prior to Prince. Neal, who wrote about the same time, says that "they hired a meetinghouse," * although for this he gives no authority. A passage in Winslow's *Narration* speaks of the house of Robinson as *being large*, and that it was the place of the feast which was prepared for the Pilgrims at their departure, by those who remained at Leyden.† If large enough for this purpose, it certainly would be large enough for their usual meetings, and, considering the straitened circumstances in which they were, it is hardly probable that more than one large building would be hired by them.

When I found from the *Record of Interments*, preserved at the Stadt House in Leyden, the spot of Robinson's dwelling at the time of his decease, I had hoped to settle this point satisfactorily to my own mind; but his house was probably taken down a few years after his death, as a row of small buildings now occupies its site, which were put there about the year 1650.

2. As to the attentions shown at the grave of Robinson. In addition to the concluding part of the note from Prince, which I have before cited, there is the following passage in Winslow's *Brief Narration*. "When God took him away from them and us by death, the University and ministers of the city accompanied him to his grave with all their accustomed solemnities, bewailing the great loss that not only that particular church had whereof he was pastor, but some of the chief of them sadly affirmed that all the churches of Christ sustained a loss by the death of that worthy instrument of the gospel." ‡

Cotton Mather§ has followed this, using Winslow's words almost *verbatim*. Hubbard mentions his death, without any comment upon the conduct of the Dutch.|| Neal, in his *History of New England*, says nearly the same as Winslow, whom he mentions in his preface as one of the principal authorities on which he relied. "They lamented his death as a public loss; and, though he

* *History of New England*, p. 81.

† "They, I say, that stayed at Leyden, feasted us that were to go, at our pastor's house, being large; where we refreshed ourselves, after tears, with singing of psalms, making joyful melody in our hearts as well as with the voice." See Young, p. 3-4.

‡ See Young, p. 392. § *Magnalia*, p. 46, Book I., Vol. I. || Hubbard, p. 96.

never had been of their communion, they did him the honor to attend his body to the grave.” *

I believe that all these statements in relation to attentions at the grave are incorrect. Prince, in his account of them, uses language somewhat similar to that of Winslow, although he does not refer to him as an authority, but states that he derived his information from the “most ancient people” of Leyden. In the matter of a grant of a church, which he took from the same authority, I have perhaps shown that there is some cause to doubt the memory of these most ancient people; and their accuracy, perhaps, was no greater in relation to the circumstances of the funeral. The original authority for this statement would appear to be Winslow, who was not, however, in Holland at the time of Robinson’s death (1625), but in Plymouth, and who could of course speak only from hearsay. For a point of greater importance than this, it might be well to inquire how far a book written under the circumstances of the *Brief Narration*, — an advocate defending his client, — may be safely relied upon as historical authority.† The statement of Winslow has been followed ever since; but, had a circumstance so flattering to the memory of their former pastor and to the remaining part of his congregation occurred, would it not have been mentioned by all the earlier writers, and particularly by Morton, whose history, compiled in great part from Bradford’s journal, was published several years after this statement had been made? He, however, has no allusion to it. Would it not also have been mentioned by the persons of Robinson’s congregation who attended him to the grave, and who, in their letters to their former companions at Plymouth, give minute particulars of his death? Copies of these letters are preserved in Bradford’s letter-book, which has been printed in the *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*; but upon any honors or friendly attentions shown to them at that time they are silent.‡

* Neal’s *New England*, p. 123.

† See Note B.

‡ The letter of Roger White, dated Leyden, April 28th, 1625, says: — “It hath pleased the Lord to take out of this vale of tears your and our loving and faithful pastor and my dear brother, Mr. John Robinson, who was sick some eight days, beginning first to be sick on a Saturday morning; yet the next day, being the Lord’s day, he taught us twice; and the week after grew every day weaker than other,

But another evidence against the correctness of the statement of Winslow and Prince is the fact, that the plague was raging in Leyden at the time of Robinson's death, and that, during the prevalence of that disorder, all public funerals were suspended. This I find to have been customary in Leyden, even if the deceased had not been ill of the prevailing malady. Roger White, in his letter, alludes to the prevalence of the plague; and in the book of records of interments in Leyden, I found a corroboration of this in the large number of deaths that daily occurred. In one church alone, twenty-five persons were buried in a single day, and this only three days before Robinson's death. In the lists of other churches, whole families would appear to have been buried at the same time; the names of husband, wife, and three or more children appearing, in several cases, upon the register.

The attentions of the professors and learned men would not, I believe, be lessened by the poverty of him whom they thought worthy; and, although it proves nothing in this immediate connection, yet it may not be uninteresting to know the manner of Robinson's interment.

It was not without some difficulty that I found at Leyden the place of Robinson's grave, being misled at first by the statement of Prince, that he was buried in a church which had been granted to his congregation. Having sought at the Stadt House and at other places for some record, without success, I at last, in a small closet attached to the Cathedral Church of St. Peter, full of old dust-covered volumes, fell upon one which contained a record of the receipts of the different churches in Leyden, from 1619 to 1629. Most of these receipts were for burial-fees; and, on looking over the lists of each church for the year 1625, the year of Robinson's death, I found the receipt for his interment at the Peter's Kerk, the church in which I then was. The title of this manuscript volume

yet felt no pain but weakness all the time of his sickness. The physic he took wrought kindly, in man's judgment; yet he grew every day weaker than other, feeling little or no pain, yet sensible till the very last. Who fell sick the 22d of February, and departed this life the 1st of March. He had a continual inward ague, which brought the ——— but, I thank the Lord, *was free of the plague*, so that all his friends could come freely to him." See *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 1794, Vol. III., p. 39; also, *Young's Pilgrims*, p. 478.

is *Blaffaarden van de Hoofd-Kerken, Ad.* 1619 tot 1629; and the receipt for Robinson's burial, an attested fac-simile of which I send with this,* is in the following words:

1625.	}	Openen en huer van Jan Robens
10 Mart.		engels predekant — 9 florins.

Open and hire for John Robens
English preacher — 9 florins.

This sum of nine florins † is the lowest paid for any person whose burial is recorded. Mr. De Pecker, who, under the Director-General at the Hague, is the administrator of the affairs of the churches in Leyden, and who is well acquainted with the mode of interment at different periods, informed me that this sum was paid only for the hire, for a few years, of a place, immediately under the pavement in one of a large number of square pits, containing space sufficient for four coffins. *At the end of seven years, these bodies were all removed.* For tombs which were walled up the prices paid were much higher. The profession of each person buried is named in the register; and those against whose names the receipt of nine florins is put were, I found, invariably persons in the humblest walks of life, journeymen-weavers, &c.; while others, who are noted as mechanics or artisans, were buried in places of fifteen and eighteen florins. While looking over this record, Mr. Van Pecker remembered, that, previously to 1812, there had been in the hands of the secretary of the *Kerkmeesters* a *Gravenboeck*, or general record of burials in Leyden. During that year, this book was deposited among the archives at the Stadt House, where it now is. The record of Robinson's interment, as it appears in that, I shall give in a note, ‡ merely mentioning here, that, while the day of his death is stated in Roger White's letter to be the 1st of March, the day of his funeral appears by the *Gravenboeck* to have been the 4th of March, and the day on which the interment fees were paid appears, by the church receipt-book, to have been the 10th of March.

But to return. I have perhaps shown to your satisfaction,

* See Note C.

† The proportion of the florin to the *fine mark of Cologne* was the same at that time as at present. The value of the florin, in United States currency, is forty cents.

‡ Note C.

that no church was granted to Robinson's congregation; and also, that, from the want of any contemporary testimony to the fact of attentions at his grave, and from the fact that the plague raged at the time of his death, during which all public funerals were prohibited, there is good reason for believing that no such attentions as have been narrated were shown.

I have found, however, evidence of an attention on the part of the University of Leyden to Robinson, which does not appear to be mentioned by any of our authors. It is his admission, in 1615, as a subject of the University, — an admission which exempted him from the control of the town magistrates, and which, in addition to several other privileges, entitled him to receive, free of town and state duties, every month, half a tun of beer, and every three months about ten gallons of wine.* This privilege was extended, as an honorary distinction, to many persons of eminence who visited Leyden; and the learned Dr. Siegenbeck, the historian of the University, mentioned to me the possibility of Robinson's name being inscribed in its books, although he was himself unaware of such being the case, and also unaware of the fact that such a person or that such a congregation had ever been in Leyden.†

On looking over the catalogue of the students admitted after 1609, which is not printed, but a part of which has been recently copied by order of the Senate of the University, I found the record of Robinson's admission in the following words: —

“1615,
Sept. 5°. Joannes Robintsonus, Anglus,
Coss: permissu. Ann. xxxix.
Stud. Theol. alit Familiam.”

It will be seen that this honor was not accorded until after six or seven years' residence in the city, and, from

* See Note D., for an attested copy of his admission, and a notice of the privileges attending it.

† I received, while making these inquiries, a great deal of kind assistance from many of the professors and learned men of Leyden, two of whom, Dr. Dermout and Dr. Leemans, I must thank most cordially; but I was forced to believe that the impression made by the Pilgrims had not been very strong, when I found the fact of their presence for ten years in that town was quite unknown to all with whom I spoke.

the marginal remark, "*Consulum permissu*," it is not improbable that some objection had been previously made by the town magistrates. The record of the admission of Robert Durie, the pastor of the English church, is in somewhat different form. He arrived at Leyden in 1609, and early the next year received that honor which was so slow in reaching the pastor of the Pilgrims.

The record for him is thus :—

" 1610, Aprilis 27. Honoris et ministerii ergo gratis inscriptus.	}	Robertus Duræus, Anglicanæ Ecclesiæ Minister, apud Lugdunenses in Batavia, An. lv. familiam alens."
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And again, in the following year, there is another inscription, probably of the son of Durie.

" 1611, Aug. 3. Gratis.	Johannes Duræus, Scholus, An. xii. Stud. Phil. habit. apud Parentes."
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It is not improbable that this privilege was given to Robinson on account of the part which he took in opposition to the opinions of Arminius; although in the records of the University there appears no account of those public discussions with Episcopius in which he engaged, and of which both Bradford and Winslow give us notices.* So I am informed by Professor Sandifort, the present Recording Secretary of the University, who was kind enough

* Mr. Young quotes, p. 42, in reference to these discussions, a passage from Hoornbeeck's *Summa Controversiarum Religionis*, 1658. Hoornbeeck was for a long time Professor of Divinity at Utrecht, where, in 1653, he published the first edition of the book to which Mr. Young refers. In that there is no allusion to Robinson as having taken part in any discussions. In the same year, Hoornbeeck removed to Leyden, and there, in 1658, published his second edition, containing the passage referred to. (See Note E.) Mr. Young says that he finds no notice of this discussion in any life of Episcopius. Bradford tells us that Episcopius was put to a "non-plus." If one may believe in the great powers of argument that the biographers of Episcopius accord him, this will appear to be no small triumph. In *Het Leven van Simon Episcopius*, Amsterdam, 1776, many discussions are mentioned, from all of which he came off triumphant. His peculiar powers were, however, particularly displayed on one occasion, when opposing Dr. Sibrandus. "In the year 1610, Episcopius held a public disputation with Dr. Sibrandus, and in this his language was so clear, his logic so strong, and his arguments so convincing, that many who knew nothing of the Latin tongue declared themselves converted to his side. One burgher, in particular, on hearing the discussion, became convinced of the truth of Episcopius's doctrine, and being asked how he could judge, as they spoke only in Latin, of which he knew not a word, replied, — *Die eerst kwaad wordt, die heeft het verloren*, — 'The first who becomes angry, he I know has lost.'"

to examine for me the *Acta Senatûs Academici* for 1612, 1614, and 1615. But as such public disputations were at that time of constant recurrence in Leyden, and of little importance in their results, it was very rare that any record of them was made. It is to be lamented that in these discussions Robinson is found taking the part of the bigots. But principles, in a certain sense, change with times, and it would be unjust to judge his conduct by the standard of other days than his own. There are few, I think, among the sons of the Pilgrims, who would not wish to find him ranged with the friends, rather than with the persecutors and final butchers, of the wise, the just, the generous Barneveldt.*

Some words used by Governor Bradford in his correspondence with the "Directors and Counsellors of the Colony of New Netherlands" have been also frequently referred to as a proof of the favorable position in which the Pilgrims stood towards the Dutch when in Holland; but a little reflection upon the circumstances under which those letters were written will, I think, somewhat lessen their value as evidence in regard to this point. The correspondence is preserved in Governor Bradford's letter-book, to which I have before referred, and is published in the *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*. The first letter from the Dutch officers, which is not given in the letter-book, contained, as we may infer from the reply, many fine congratulatory words, and also propositions of friendship and commerce. Its date was March 9th, 1627. The reply, of March 19th, 1627, alludes to the professions of good-will contained in the Dutch letter, adding, that they are "expressed with over high titles"; and after congratulating the Dutch Directors and Council on the friendship then subsisting between their two governments at home, which should alone make them also friends, continues:—"Yet are many of us further tied by the good and courteous entreaty which we have found in your country, having lived there many years with freedom and good content, as many of our friends do to this day;

* The active part which the professors of Leyden, opposed to Arminius, took in the pursuits against Barneveldt, Hugo Grotius, and others, will be found mentioned in nearly all the contemporary notices, as also in Brandt's *History of the Reformation in the Low Countries*.

for which we are bound to be thankful and our children after us, and shall never forget the same, but shall heartily desire your good and prosperity as our own for ever.” *

When, a few months later, Isaac de Razier, the chief merchant and second of the governors of the New Netherlands, arrived at Plymouth, he was received, as the marginal notes of Bradford state, with all possible honor, — a boat being sent for him, in which he “came honorably attended with a noise of trumpeters.” They seem to have understood one another very well, neither having been deceived by the kind expressions of the other. Of the Dutch offers of assistance Bradford says, — “The which, though we know it was with an eye to their own profit, yet we had reason both kindly to accept it and make use of it.”

But although his reply was couched in even more than friendly terms, this movement of the Dutch was watched with great jealousy. Their friendship was not to be rejected, yet there was danger in too great an intimacy, and it was to be feared by the colonists that their advantages of trade with the natives might be soon usurped by their enterprising neighbours. That Bradford was not quite at ease, notwithstanding the tone of their mutual compliments and the “noise of trumpeters,” may be inferred from the letter which a short time after (June 15, 1627) he wrote to “The Council of New England” in England. After expressing an opinion as to the rising influence of the Dutch colony, and the importance of guarding against them, he says, — “For strength of men and fortification, they far exceed us, and all in this land. The effect of their letters being friendly and congratulatory, *we answered them in like sort.*” †

The value of an inference drawn from compliments passed under such circumstances is, perhaps, not very great.

One evidence of the poverty of the Pilgrims while in Holland may be found in the fact of the hard terms to which they were compelled to submit in their contract with the “merchant adventurers” in England, who supplied them

* See *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, Vol. III., p. 51.

† *Ibid.*, p. 56.

with the means to emigrate to America and lay the foundation of their colony. Every person above sixteen was to be counted as ten pounds in the capital stock; and the "merchant adventurer," who advanced one hundred pounds in England, was to receive, at the end of seven years, as much of the profits of the colony as did *ten* of its hard-toiling founders; and this in addition to a share of the land they had brought under cultivation, and the buildings they had raised. The colonists were not even allowed the liberty, possessed at the present day by a Valachian serf or a Spanish slave, to work two days in the week for themselves individually; but were compelled by their agreement to toil untiringly for seven years, and always for the benefit of the Company.*

Taking into view, then, the care and suffering that they endured in Holland, as shown by their own early writings, — the absence in these writings of all notice of any attentions from the magistrates, — viewing also the fact, that no traces can now be found of their having enjoyed any public place of worship, and also that the honor of admission to University privileges was not accorded to their pastor until after many years,† — viewing, further, the hard terms to which they were forced to submit in order to raise the means for their emigration to America, may we not justly infer that the condition of the Pilgrims while in Holland was one of poverty and obscurity?

I must confess I cannot sympathize with those who

* The conditions of this agreement are to be found in Hubbard's *History*. He does not give the source from which he derived them. Mr. Young supposes them to have been taken from Bradford's journal, and to that he has restored them, placing them within brackets. See Young's *Pilgrims*, pp. 81 – 85.

Hard as these conditions certainly were for persons possessing the character and intelligence of the Pilgrims, they are not unlike such as are sometimes made at the present day by emigrants from the Old World. I remember, when at the island of Elba, seeing in the harbour of Porto Ferrajo a vessel just ready to sail for Pernambuco, having on board two hundred natives of the island. The contract made with each of them, and which was shown to me by the single "merchant adventurer," who, in this case, accompanied them, was, that the expenses of their passage to America, and of their maintenance for five years, were to be paid by him, they to work constantly during that time, at their several trades, for his benefit (excepting only the usual Church *festas*), and, during other five years, to pay to him a part of their earnings.

† I omit, in this connection, the fact, that their former presence in Leyden is now quite unknown to most of the learned men of the University; for that only proves that the memory of good men will not always survive them for two hundred years. I shall give in a note (E.) some of the earliest notices of Robinson with which I met in different works published in Holland and in Germany.

would wish to make it appear otherwise. For to do so would be, to my mind, not only to violate historic truth, but also to dim one of the brightest traits in the Pilgrims' character; — I mean their union, and firm, unbending resolution, displayed under circumstances far less likely to call those qualities into action, than when as colonists they had emigrated to America.

Once at Plymouth, they had no alternative. Their ship had not, it is true, been burned upon the strand; yet few could have any hope of return. The forest was before them, the ocean behind. Placed in such a position, the weak become strong, and men of small courage display an energy, of the possession of which they were themselves before all unconscious. But in Holland, they had before their eyes the temptation of their own English homes; they had a land "less hard" within reach, and nothing to restrain them from enjoying it but a *principle*. Had magisterial favors and physical comfort attended them in Leyden, then there were no self-denial in their position. But this was not the case; the hardness of the country was such that few would come to them, and fewer would bide it out and continue with them, — and many that wished to join them *admitted of bondage, with danger of conscience, rather than to endure these hardships in Holland.**

And why not give the Pilgrims credit for having endured, unflinchingly, for eleven years, those hardships? Why is it that some writers have found delight in keeping back the fact of their poverty, and in dwelling complacently upon the assumed attentions of the Dutch magistrates? Is it that honest, industrious, independent poverty is a crime? Is it that the attentions of the Schepens and Burgermeesters of a provincial town in Holland can add to the fame of men who, not shrinking from poverty or from danger, left their homes *rather than to sacrifice a principle*, and became, in a foreign land, the fathers of a nation, millions of which now rise up and call them blessed? By their *works* let them be judged.

LONDON, Dec. 22d, 1842.

* See Bradford's journal, Young, p. 45.

NOTES.

NOTE A. — Page 49.

ENGLISH CHURCH AT LEYDEN.

THE occupation, by Leicester, of some parts of Holland, during the reign of Elizabeth, had brought numbers of English to that country, many of whom took up their abodes there. Previously to this, however, commercial factories had been established at different points, many of which were created by Scottish merchants, who had for a long time enjoyed the benefit of favorable treaties between their own sovereigns and the rulers of the Netherlands. By a treaty made December 15, 1550, between Mary, the queen, and Charles the Fifth of Germany, the Scotch were allowed to hold their own boards of commerce, and to enjoy, while in the Netherlands, all the rights and privileges of the Dutch themselves; and, in 1594, an act in confirmation of this was agreed to by James the Sixth and the Dutch States.*

When, in 1585, the treaty was made between Elizabeth and the Seigniors of the Netherlands, by which English troops were to be sent to that country to take part in the war with Spain, it was provided by the fourteenth article of that treaty, that "They [the Dutch] will permit to the governor and the garrison the free exercise of religion, as in England; and to this end, a church will be provided for them in each town."† The churches, thus opened, were frequented by others than the soldiers; and in a few years, there was scarcely a town in Holland, of much importance, that had not its English congregation.

That at Leyden was formed in 1609, in which year it received, by order of the magistrates, a grant of a church, and a subsidy for its pastor, Robert Durie. Their meetings were at first held in the chapel of the Saint Catherine's Almshouse, where they continued until 1622, when another chapel was granted them attached to the Jerusalem's Hof. Here they remained until 1644, when they removed to the Falyde Bagyn Hof, a part of the church of which they occupied until 1807.

The historian of Leyden, Van Mieris, to whom I have before referred, records the opening of the English church in the following terms:—"So many English were coming here, that they petitioned (1609) for a church, and also for a salary for their preacher. They received permission to worship in Saint Katherine's Gasthuis. In 1616, their preacher died, and they petitioned the town that the salary might be continued, and paid to such neighbouring preachers as they might employ. Permission to do this was granted, and an order was given

* See *Historie van de Oorlogen en Geschiedenissen der Nederlanderen*, door Van Meteren, Vol. VI., p. 121; also, Wagenaar's *Vaderlandsche Historie*, Vol. VIII., p. 400.

† See Dumont, *Corps Universel du Droit des Gens*, Tome V., Partie I., p. 454.

to the *Rentmeester* of the church capital to pay a proper proportion of the subsidy to such preachers as might come from neighbouring towns, until a new preacher was chosen, and approved by the magistrates. Order dated 20th February, 1617.*

Van Mieris then continues with an act extracted from the *Burgermeesteren en Gerechts Dagboek* of 12th January, 1622, which states, that, owing to the number of different services performed in the Katherine's Gasthuis, it was well to make some change, and the magistrates therefore give to the English the little chapel of Jerusalem's Hof.† (The chapel of Saint Catherine was, in 1609, used by the French Protestants in Leyden, and so it still continues to be, in 1842.)

The congregation became, however, too large for this chapel, and on the 11th of March, 1644, the following order was issued by the magistrates, the record of which is by Van Mieris copied from the *Dagboek*: — "The magistrates, hearing that the chapel in the Almshouse of Jerusalem, appropriated as a church or temple for the use of the English community of the Reformed Religion living in this city, was too small to accommodate all their number, ordered the town architect to make an examination of the room in the church of the Bagyn Hof (Beguin Cloister), formerly used as a fencing-school; and having heard his report of the length, the breadth, and the height of this room, they find from the forenamed fabricant that this room is larger than the chapel. Wherefore they order and authorize that this room be used by and appropriated to the above-named congregation, and that the preacher's stool, the chairs, benches, seats, &c., be carried there from the Jerusalem's Hof chapel; and further, that this room in the Kerk in the Bagyn Hof be in future the church of the English Reformed Community." *Burgermeesteren en Gerechts Dagboek*, xi. March, 1644.

It will thus be seen that three distinct chapels were allowed them at different times, neither of which has, as I can find, been used at any time by any other English congregation. The little chapel in the Jerusalem's Hof appeared to me the most probable one to have been granted to the Pilgrims, and I thought at first that it must have been their place of worship. But it was given, in 1622, to the English church, three years before the death of Robinson, who, we may safely say, once in possession of a church, would not have been driven out of it to make room for another. In the histories of Leyden there is no notice of the use to which it was devoted immediately prior to 1622, although in the books of the Jerusalem Almshouse, now in the hands of Mr. Putkammer, one of the trustees, there is no notice of its having been used by English prior to 1622. In a small room attached to it, there is a large emblazoned copy of the will of its founder, — Walter Cooman, 1467, — which was painted and fastened to the wall in 1618. This would not, I believe, have been done, had the chapel been then in the hands of strangers.

Immediately after 1644, this chapel was used as the assembly-room

* *Beschrijving der Stad Leyden*, Vol. I., p. 99.

† Orlers, in his *Beschrijving der Stadt Leyden*, p. 143, says of the Jerusalem's Gasthuis in 1641: — "Dit Cappelletzen wert tegenwoordele ghebrupekt by de Engelsche Gheemeente doende Professie van de Gereformeerde Religie," — This chapel is at present used by the English sect professing the Reformed Religion.

of the *Beer Guild*, and so continued until 1795, when all guilds were abolished, and it is now (1842) a storehouse for turf to be burned in a neighbouring mill. This chapel is on the *Broedertjesgracht*, and has on its front wall the arms of the Brewers, with the words “*Bier Drager’s Gilden-Hoys*.” I mention all these particulars, lest any curious American, searching in future for the church of the Pilgrims, should fancy, as I did for a time, that he has found it in the *Jerusalem Hof*.*

A book was published a few years since, — *History of the Scottish Church at Rotterdam*, by William Steven, Minister of that Church, Edinburgh, 1833, — which contains some notices of the different English churches in Holland, not so accurate, however, as to permit their being implicitly relied on. Speaking of Leyden, the author says, — “As many British residents resorted to this rising seat of learning, the States of Holland and the magistrates of the town instituted and endowed, at their joint expense, a Scottish church in 1609.” — p. 312. Again : — “The Brownists had a chapel here, and their pastor was Mr. John Smith. In the printed histories of Leyden there is no mention made of this religious sect, and the probability is that it did not long exist. The English who settled in this town were genteel families, whom the superior advantages of education drew to Leyden in considerable numbers ; and there were besides a few cloth manufacturers, and other artisans.” — p. 312.

This English, or “Scottish church,” is the only church of either nation, in relation to which any record can be found in the *Acts of the Reformed Church at Leyden*. So I am told by the Rev. Dr. Dermout, a most learned and accomplished divine of Leyden, who has probably studied with more care than any living person in Holland the early history of its church. The fact of the presence of Robinson’s congregation for a time at Leyden was known to him, from its being stated in Neal’s *History of the Puritans*, a translation of which into Dutch, under the title *Historie der Rechtzinnige Puriteinen*, was made by Jan Ross, and published in 1752, at Rotterdam. The records of the Reformed Church — *Acten des Kerkenraads* — are now in the hands of Dr. Dermout, by whom they have been recently arranged ; but those prior to 12th October, 1620, are lost. Had there been, however, any intercourse between Robinson’s congregation and the Dutch churches, there would probably be some notice of it at the time of his death. Dr. Dermout and myself went carefully over the records for 1625 and 1626, but no notice whatever of Robinson or his congregation was to be found. This gentleman was kind enough to make further search, and below you have the different notices in relation to the English church which were found in the *Acts*.

The names of the preachers of this church are constantly printed in the little calendar, or *Orde de Feest en Lijdsteksten in de Hemeente te Leiden*, and the following is a leaf cut from that volume.

* There is yet another historian of Leyden, Leeven, whose book was published in 1672. The great work of Van Mieris is, however, superior to all others. Leeven speaks of the English sect as having a room, at that time, in the *Falysde Bagyn Hof* ; but he has no mention of any other English congregation.

“ PREDIKANTEN IN DE ENGELSCH E GEMEENTE.

Robertus Durie, *beroepen* 1609 ; *gestorven* 1616.

Hugo Goudgier, *ber.* 1617 ; *gestorven* 1661. [Teekent Hugo Goodierus in actis Goudiart.]

Mattheus Newcomen, *beroepen uit Engeland* 1663 ; *gestorven* 1669.

Eduardus Richardson, *Doct. Theol., ber.* 1670 ; *op zijn verzoek ontslagen* 1674.

Henrikus Hickman, *ber. uit Engeland* 1675 ; *gestorven* 1691.

Wilhelmus Castares, *als tweede Predikant beroepen* 1688 ; *vertrokken tot den dienst van Zijne Brittannische Majesteit* 1689.

Robbertus Fleming, *ber. uit Engeland* 1692 ; *vertrokken naar Rotterdam in de Schotsche Kerk* 1695.

Johannes Milling, (*Pred. in het leger*), 1696 ; *vertrokken naar Dublin* 1702.

Robb. Milling, *Prop., ber.* 1702 ; *vertrokken naar 's Gravenhage* 1716.

Thomas Gowan, *ber. van Drumbo in Ierland* 1716 ; *gestorven* 1753.

William Mitchell, *Prop., ber.* 1753 ; *gestorven* 1807, ruim 31 jaren oud ; — *wanneer de Engelsche Kerk gesloten is.*”

The following extracts from the church records are interesting, as they show in some degree the feeling of an English preacher at that time, and show also that what has been so freely charged upon the Pilgrims as intolerance was not exclusively monopolized by them. Some who have been disposed to regard the Pilgrims as patterns of bigotry may perhaps be surprised at these acts on the part of a church favored by the government, the members of which, as Steven tells us, were men of “ genteel families, whom the superior advantages of education drew to Leyden.”

“ *Extract uit de Handelingen des Kerkerads van de Nederduitsche Hervornde Gemeente te Leijden.*

“ 1630. 1 Maart. *Richard Parsons* verzoekt by requeste dat hij zoude mogen in de Duijsche Kerke alhier worden aangenomen, niettegenstaande dat de Kerkeraad van de Engelsche Kerke hem geene attestatie begeert te geven. Is goedgevonden, dat men den Predikant Goodier daarover zal aanspreken.

“ 15 Maart. Alzoo de Engelsche Kerk persisteert geene attestatie te willen geven aan R. Parsons, oordeelt deze Vergadering dat de voorzegde R. P. met alle gevoegelyke middelen zal zien de attestatie te bekomen, doch dat hy wel zoude doen bij de Engelsche Kerk te blijven.

“ 2 Aug. R. Parsons gepraesenteerd hebbende een request aan de achtb. magistraat, om uit de Engelsche Kerk te mogen overgaan in de Duitsche ; [waarin hij klaagt, dat hij geweerd is van het Avondmaal en geene attestatie kan bekomen, omdat hy eenen zoon heeft die de Engelsche spraak niet verstaat en dien hy niet met zich ter predicatie nemen kan, maar dien hy zelf naar de Duitsche preek moet brengen, omdat hy anders terstond weder ter kerke uitgaat :] Is goedgevonden den Engelschen Predikant aantespreken en te induceren, om hem met attestatie te laten gaan.

“ 23 Aug. R. Parsons is aangezegd, dat de Engelsche Predikant zwaarigheid blyft maken, om hem te dimitteren, maar hem in de En-

gelsche kerk wil blyven toelaten, ofschoon hy zynen zoon in de Duitsche Kerk brengt ; en met eenen gebeden die zaak zoo te laten verblijven.

“1638. 23 Julij. Is aangediend van een zeker lidmaat van de Engelsche Kerk, [*Henrick Staffart.*] dat hij van het Avondmaal wordt afgehouden, omdat hij zyn Chirurghjns. of barbiers-ambt Zondags 's morgens voór de predicatie of voór half negenen, tot gerief van vele arme luiden of werklieden, die de geheele week arbeiden en tot onderhoud van zyn huisgezin uitoefent, volgens de keure van den Magistraat ; verzoekende hulp en raad van deze Vergadering. Is goedgevonden den goeden man te raden, dat hy alsnog attestatie verzoeken van de Engelsche Kerk, en voor zoo verre men hem dat weigert, te verzoeken eene attestatie naar waarheid.

“6 Aug. Is aangediend, dat de Engelsche Chirurghijn van den Engelschen Kerkeraad verzocht hebbende eene attestatie, met insertie van hetgeen de Kerk tegen hem had, niet had kunnen obtineren. Is goedgevonden dat men D. Goodier daarover zal begroeten.

“27 Aug. Is voorgelezen het antwoord van Mr. Goodier. Is goedgevonden hem nog eens te spreken, en hem te zeggen dat deze Vergadering de proceduren niet kan billijken, en zoo er niet werd geaccordeerd, dat wij hem (den Chirurghyn) niet zouden kunnen zonder hulpe laten.

“17 Sept. Zekere Engelschman, lidmaat van de Engelsche Kerk, *Nicolaas Oliardt* genaamd alleen (zoo hy zegt.) aldaar van het Avondmaal ontzegd, omdat hy eenige malen onze predicatieën had gesfrequenteed, verzoekt de hulpe dezer Vergadering, ten einde hij of wederopgenomen, of met attestatie gedimiteerd zoude worden.

“Beide deze zaken alzoo gebleken zynde, en de Engelsche Kerkeraad eene schriftelyke beschuldiging inleverende bij den Magistraat, waarin niets anders wezenlyks tegen beide werd ingebracht, zijn zij op bevel der Regering den 2en Dec. 1639. aangenomen als leden der Nederduitsche Gemeente, alsmede de Dochter van Staffart. onder protest van Ds. Goodier.

“Eodem die. 2 Dec. 1639. Is mede gerapporteerd dat met Ds. Goodier is gehandeld belangende den persoon van *Nicolaas Gildinus*. die eene vrouw van onze Gemeente getrouwd hebbende, verzocht zyne attestatie om bij ons te komen, tegen welken by hem Goodier deze ergernissen als verhindering van attestatie zyn voortgebracht : eerst, dat hy den geheelen Zondag toebak verkocht ; daarna, dat hij des Zondags vermaand zynde zyne vensters te willen sluiten, nochtans die altyd had opgehouden ; voegende niettemin daarbij, dat hij anders een bescheiden man was. Waarop gehoord zynde in deze Vergadering de voorn. Gildinus en verstaan zyn antwoord. nam. dat wel mogt zyn, dat nu en dan op den Zondag de een en de ander om tabak komende was besteld geworden, maar dat zulks was geschied zonder dat hy daarom de oefening van den Godsdienst had nagelaten, beloofde ook in het toekomende denzelven getrouwelyk te willen oefenen. De Vergadering heeft goedgevonden hem tot een lidmaat dezer Gemeente aanteneemen.

“1655. 23 April. Ds. Lantsman vraagt, hoe dat hy zich zoude hebben te gedragen nopens zekeren Engelschman van der Brownisten Vergadering, die zulks is verzoekende om by onze kerk aangenomen te worden. Wordt Ds. Lantsman toebetrouwd om met hem te handelen over zyne confessie, en bijaldien hy daarin gezond zal worden

beyonden, als mede de Kerken-ordre niet tegensprekende, by name in het stuk van den Kinderdoop, hem naar gewoonlyke ordre aanteneimen.

“Voor extract conform.

“I. DERMOÛT, *Theol. Doct.*

Predikant by de Nederd. Hervormde Gemeente.

“LEYDEN, 13 December, 1841.”

TRANSLATION.

Extract from the Journal of the Church Council of the Dutch Reformed Communion in Leyden.

1630. 1 March. Richard Parsons states in a petition, that he is desirous of making his confession of faith in the Dutch church; notwithstanding which, the council of the English church refuse to give him an attestation. It is resolved that the preacher Goodier shall be spoken with in regard to this.

15 March. The English church persisting in its refusal of an attestation to Richard Parsons, the assembly is of the opinion that the said R. P. should try by all convenient means to get the attestation, but that he would do well to remain by the English church.

2 Aug. Richard Parsons having presented to the Right Honorable Magistrates a request that he may be permitted to leave the English church and join that of the Dutch, — in which petition he complains that he has been both shut off from the communion table, and refused an attestation, because, having a son who does not understand the English language, he has taken him to the Dutch church, he being obliged to accompany his son, for otherwise he leaves the church immediately, — it has been resolved to speak about this with the English preacher, and induce him to dismiss Parsons with an attestation.

23 Aug. It was announced to Richard Parsons, that the English preacher still opposes difficulties to his dismissal, but consents to let him remain in the English church, notwithstanding that he carries his son to the Dutch church; and so he is recommended to let the matter stand.

1638. 23 July. By direction of the magistrates, who ask the aid and counsel of this assembly, it has been reported by a certain member of the English church, Henry Staffart, that he is refused admission to the Last Supper, because he exercises his profession of barber-surgeon on Sunday mornings before the time of service, that is, before half past eight o'clock, which is for the benefit of numbers of poor men and working people that are employed throughout the whole week, and also for the maintenance of his own household. It has been resolved to counsel the good man to ask first an attestation from the English church, and, should this be refused, then to ask an attestation of the truth [facts].

6 Aug. It is reported that the English barber, having asked of the English church council a certificate of the griefs the church has against him, could not obtain it. It is resolved that Ds. Goodier shall be spoken with in relation to this.

27 Aug. The answer of Mr. Goodier is read. It is resolved to converse with him again, and to inform him that this assembly cannot approve the proceedings, and that, if the affair be not arranged, they will not leave the chirurgeon without help.

17 Sept. A certain Englishman, member of the English church, named Nicholas Oliardt, having, as he states, been shut off from the communion table for no other cause than that he had sometimes attended the Dutch preaching, begs the assistance of this assembly, to the end either that he may be readmitted to the communion table, or dismissed with an attestation.

Both these affairs being thus known, and the English church council having presented a written accusation against Staffart and Oliardt to the magistrates, in which, however, no other real charge than the above was made against either ; they were both, according to the orders of the government, received as members of the Dutch communion, and also the daughter of Staffart, — Ds. Goodier protesting.

Eodem die, 2 Dec., 1639. It has also been reported what has occurred with Ds. Goodier in relation to Nicholas Gildinus, a person who, being married to a woman of our church, asked his permission to join us, against which are objected by Goodier the following griefs in impeachment of the granting him an attestation : — 1st. That he, during the whole of Sunday, was selling tobacco; 2d. That, having been admonished to close his windows on Sundays, he nevertheless always kept them open, adding, however, that except this he was a well behaved man. Whereupon the answer of Gildinus, as heard in this assembly was thus : “That it might be that now and then he had given tobacco to one and the other who had come for it, but that this had occurred without his neglecting the exercises of God’s service, which he promised also for the future faithfully to observe.” The assembly was pleased to accept him as a member of this communion.

1655. 23 April. Ds. Lantsman asks how he shall conduct himself in relation to a certain Englishman, of the Brownist assembly, who has requested to be admitted to our church. It has been confided to Ds. Lantsman to converse with him about his confession, and if he should be found healthy in that, and also not disputing the doctrines of the church [*Kerken-ordre*], especially as to infant baptism, then to admit him in the ordinary manner.

NOTE B. — Page 54.

ROBINSON’S SERMON.

In Morton’s *New England’s Memorial*, page 235, we have a notice of Winslow’s mission to England in the following words : — “ 1646. This year, Mr. Edward Winslow went for England, upon occasion that some discontented persons under the government of the Massachusetts sought to trouble their peace, and disturb, if not innovate, their government, by laying many scandals upon them, and intended to prosecute against them in England, by petitioning and complaining to the Parliament. Also Samuel Gorton and his company made complaint against them; so as they made choice of Mr. Winslow to be their agent to make their defence, and gave him commission and instructions for that end, in which he so carried himself *as did well answer their ends*, and cleared them from any blame and dishonor, to the shame of their adversaries.”

Upon the petition of the "discontented persons" Judge Davis remarks, in his notes to Morton (p. 236), that "they do not appear so malignant or unreasonable as they were esteemed when they were in agitation"; and another historian, Backus, looks with equally lenient eyes at the proceedings of Gorton and his companions. (See *History of New England*, by Isaac Backus, Vol. I., pp. 195-204.) The colony had, however, been attacked; Winslow was to defend it; and in its defence the *Brief Narration* was written.

It was in this that first appeared that remarkable sermon, said to have been delivered by Robinson, at the parting of the Pilgrims from their brethren in Holland. Of this sermon the learned Judge Davis remarks (note, p. 29, Morton's *New England's Memorial*):—"It would be a culpable omission not to insert in this connection Mr. Robinson's exhortation to his people, in his fast sermon in July, 1620, 'which breathes,' says Dr. Belknap, 'a noble spirit of Christian liberty, and gives a just idea of the sentiments of this excellent divine, whose charity was the more conspicuous because of his former narrow principles, and the general bigotry of the reformed ministers and churches of that day.' It is difficult to explain why this excellent advice was not preserved in the *Memorial*, or copied, as were many other documents of less interest, into the church records. . . . The following extract is copied from Dr. Belknap's life of Robinson; he quotes Neal's *History of New England* as his authority." Judge Davis states that "Mr. Prince gives an extract of this exhortation from Winslow's relation." But the "extract" of Prince is *all* that either Neal or Belknap gives.

If the sermon, as in Neal (p. 83), be compared with the *extract* in Prince (p. 89), or with the original of Winslow in Young's *Pilgrims* (p. 396), it will be seen that they are the same,—that the *whole* sermon as given by Neal is no longer than the *extract* given by Prince,—and that the only difference is in the change of the *third* person, used by Winslow, to the *first* person, used by Neal. Neal has given no authority for this sermon. Hutchinson says (in his preface to his first volume), that Neal's book "is little more than an abridgment of Dr. Mather"; and if we turn to Cotton Mather, we shall find (Book I., p. 14, fol. edit.) the sermon in the form which Neal, Belknap, and others, have copied. Cotton Mather gives no authority, but he has evidently drawn from Winslow, changing the person and form, and rounding off some sentences to produce more effect, but without adding a single idea. The finding a text seems to have been done by Neal, who appropriates that from Ezra viii. 21, which Governor Bradford gives in his journal as the text of a sermon preached by Robinson before their departure from Holland. Mather speaks also of this sermon and text from Ezra (p. 6), but mentions it as if different from the often quoted sermon, which he gives in another place. Was that sermon ever preached by Robinson? The only authority which can be found for it is Winslow, and he gives, in an informal manner, twenty-six years after the time when the discourse is supposed to have been pronounced, that which forms the groundwork of the sermon in Mather, Neal, and others. Had Winslow taken notes of this discourse at the time, one may well be surprised, with the learned Judge Davis, that its "excellent advice was not copied, as were many other documents of less interest, into the church records." Had he taken no notes, his memory must have been of a superior order to enable him to write out a discourse which

10 maart

Opz en pinen way foy Hobert vriesel pmederant y

Extrait-fidèle des Registre
entretenu par la Couronne van de

Staple van de A. 169 tot 1629. —

Copied before me,
H. S.

Leyden Decr. 13th 1841

J. Demmoult The Doct
of the H. S. M.

Pasteur de l'Eglise Reformee Hollandaise

J. L. Peckers

Commissaire - Administrateur des Eglises
reformées de Leyde

he had listened to twenty-six years before. But he does not pretend to give us a positive discourse, in the manner of Mather, but says, — "Amongst other wholesome instructions and exhortations, he [Mr. Robinson] used these expressions, *or to the same purpose*." (Young's *Pilgrims*, p. 396.)

NOTE C. — Page 56.

BURIAL OF ROBINSON.

OF the inscription in the *Blaffaarden van de Hoofd-Kerken*, recording the receipt of nine florins for the opening and hire of a tomb for Robinson, the following is a fac-simile, certified by Dr. Dermout, to whom I have before alluded, and by Mr. de Pecker.

[See fac-simile on opposite page.]

Translation.

"1625

10 March — Open and hire for John Robens, English preacher — 9 florins."

The volume from which this is taken is, as I have mentioned before, the record of church receipts. In the *Gravenboeck*, or book of interments, which was deposited in the Stadt Huis in 1812, the following record appears of Robinson's interment.

"1625

4 Maart — Jan Roelends, Predicant van de Engelsche Gemeente, by het Klockhuijs, — begraven in de Pieter's Kerk."

Translation.

John Roelends, Preacher of the English sect,
by the Belfry, — buried in the Peter's Church.

The words "by the Belfry" allude to the residence of the deceased, which is mentioned against the name of each person. Near the Belfry of Leyden there was a large square, on one side of which alone were a few houses; so that such a direction was perhaps sufficiently explicit.

The Church of St. Peter is the oldest in Leyden, and the date of the first building is now quite unknown. In September, 1121, Godebald, twenty-fourth bishop of Utrecht, consecrated it by the name of St. Peter and St. Paul, and in 1339 it was much enlarged. (See Orlers's *History of Leyden*.) It contains now several monuments, among them, one to Boerhaven, one to Scaliger, &c.

NOTE D. — Page 57.

ADMISSION TO THE UNIVERSITY.

An old book, printed at Leyden in 1713, entitled *Les Délices de Leide*, gives the following account of the privileges enjoyed by the students.

“Les etudians aussi quels qu'ils soient, y'ont beaucoup de beaux Privileges ; comme d'avoir tous les mois, sans payer les Droits de l'Etat et de la Ville, chacun une demi-Tonne de Biere, et tous les trois mois vingt stooopen de Vin (chaque Stoop contient quatre pintes) et d'n'être jugés dans leurs diverses querelles et différens que par le Recteur Magnifique, quatre Assesseurs, quatre Bourgemaîtres et deux Echevins (Scheepenen) quand même il y aüroit en quelque meurtre ; *et aultris libertez*. . . . Les personnes de la plus haute qualité, Princes, Comtes, Marquis, Barons, &c., &c., se font un honneur d'y voir paroître leur Nom et d'avoir été sujets de l'Academie.” — p. 71.

These “fine privileges” continued to be enjoyed by the students until 1795, when, in the movement that followed in Holland the French Revolution, all old chartered privileges of a similar nature were broken up. The magisterial powers possessed by the University had, however, long previously to that time, given annoyance to the town's-people of Leyden, and produced, perhaps, as many heart-burnings as one sees existing at the present day between the academical and municipal officers of Cambridge and Oxford.

The following is the record of Robinson's admission to the University of Leyden, certified by Dr. Kist, one of the professors of the University.

“In albo Civium Academiæ Lugdvno-Batavæ, die 5^o Septembris, Anni 1615, inscriptus est, ‘*Consulum permisso* :

“‘Joannes Robintsonus, Anglus, Ann. XXXIX., Stud. Theol. alit familiam.’

Q. T.

“L. B. d. 10 Dec.
A. 1841.

V. J. Kist, Th. D. et Prof.
pro Senatus Academia
ab actis.”

Copied in my presence.
G. S.

NOTE E.

EARLY NOTICES OF ROBINSON.

In the MSS. catalogue of the University Library at Leyden, the name of Robinson does not appear, neither is it in the old printed catalogue of 1750. In the Royal Library at Paris is a Latin copy of his *Apology*, dated 1619, though no other books appear against his name.

The earliest notice of Robinson that I can find in any work printed in Holland is one given twenty-eight years after his death, by John Hoorndeeck, in his book, *Summa Controversiarum Religionis*, Trajecti ad Rhenum (Utrecht), 1653. In his tenth chapter he devotes nearly a hundred pages to the Brownists, and, speaking of Robinson, says, — “Optimus inter illos fuit, de quo postremum dicendus, Johannes Robinsonus, quoque Leidensium Separatistarum Minister, vir supra reliquos probus atque eruditus.” He speaks of Ames and Parker as having mollified Robinson in some degree, although he would not allow entire communion with the Dutch church ; and mentions Robinson's

Apology as having been printed in Latin in 1619 and in English in 1644; but I can find no allusion to a controversy with Episcopius, a passage relating to which Mr. Young has copied (p. 42) from the second edition of Hoornbeeck, printed at Leyden in 1658. Is it not probable that the fame of this discussion had not reached Hoornbeeck at Utrecht, but that he first heard of it at Leyden, to which place he removed in the same year that his first edition was published?

The second notice is in 1687, in Horn's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, published during that year at Leyden. This book, however, must be well known in America. Prince refers frequently to it, and also Young, in his notes. Speaking of the Separatists, he mentions Brown, then Barrow, Johnson, and Smith, and continues,—"Ita languentem et animam agentem Separatismum restituit* Robinsonus, Pastor Leidensis, doctissimus ac modestissimus omnium Separatarum, qui ab Amesio et Parkero in viam revocatus, rigidas Separatarum opiniones mitigavit et Semi-Separatismum fundavit. Et hic Robinsonus verus author *Independentium* hodiernorum et in nova et in veteri Anglia est. De quibus hoc in universum tenendum est: eos in doctrina nihil vel parum, in nullo saltem articulo fundamentalis discrepare ab aliis Reformatis Ecclesiis. Ceterum majorem puritatem, vitæ sanctitatem ac perfectionem præ se ferunt."

In *Memorabilia Ecclesiastica Seculi Decimi Septimi*, per And. Carolum, published at Tübingen in 1697, is a short notice of Robinson, which is compiled from Hoornbeeck's second edition and from Horn. He has the statement given in Young, p. 453, that the widow, children, and friends were received into the Dutch church.

In Hoffman's *Lexicon Universale*, Lugduni Bat., 1698, Vol. IV., p. 74, is a notice of Henry Robinson, in which part of the above section of text from Horn appears. Under the head, "*Separatistæ, nomen sectæ in Anglia*," he mentions Brown, Smith, and Robinson, and copies again a part of the foregoing paragraph of Horn, to whom he refers as authority. Under "*Independentes*" a long notice is given, compiled also from Horn, in which the name of Robinson is mentioned.

In the *Universal Lexicon aller Wissenschaften und Kunste*, Leipzig, 1724, in 24 vols., folio, John Robinson is mentioned as an English preacher who left his fatherland on account of persecution. "Er wird auch von seinen Freunden gerühmet, dass er fromm und gelehrt gewesen, auch von denen Leydnischen Professoren sehr hoch gehalten, und seine Apologie überaus allen Gottesgelehrten zu recommendiren sey." The article continues by stating, that, after Robinson's death, his congregation went to New England, whence many returned during the time of Cromwell. For this last statement his authority is Arnold's *Kirch Historie*; for that in regard to the Leyden professors, he refers to Hoornbeeck, Lib. X., p. 775.

After this, all the notices of Robinson that I met with in Dutch books were drawn either from Hoffman's *Lexicon*, or directly from Horn. Some notices in more recent works are taken from Neal's

* "Optimam operam navavit in refutandis Arminianis. Extat ipsius Apologia moderata, docta, brevis. Independentismus Democratia est, desinens in *anarchiam*, perimens Jura Regiminis Ecclesiastici, Presbyterii, Classium, Synodorum, quæ tamen Scripturaria sunt, et defendenda contra Episcopatus hodierni Hierarchiam."—pp. 318, 399.

History of the Puritans, which, as I have before stated, was translated into Dutch by Jan Ross, and published in 1752, under the title, *Historie der Rechtzinninge Puriteinen*.

NOTE F.

THERE is in the writings of the Pilgrims no allusion, I believe, to the individuals who composed the magistracy of Leyden. Should any such be found at a future day, the following list of those officers for the years 1609 and 1620 will perhaps not be without interest. It is taken from Orler's *History of Leyden*, p. 650.

1609.

Schout.

Loth Huygenszon Gael.

Burgermeesteren.

Claes Adriaenszon.

Foy van Brouckhoven.

Heinrich Egbertson van der Hal.

Schepenen.

Vranck van Thorenvliedt.

Jasper van Bauchem.

Andries Jaspersen van Vesanwelt.

Adriaen Peterszon van der Werf.

Frans Adriaens van Leeuwen.

Willem Govers van der Aar.

Amelis van Hogeveen.

Mr. Clemens van Baersdorp.

1620.

Schout.

Mr. Willem de Bondt.

Burgermeesteren.

Andries Jaspers van Vesanevelt.

Mr. Jacob van Brouckhoven.

Jacob Cornelisz. Leeusveldt.

Daniel Symonszon van Alphen.

Schepenen.

Jan de Bendt.

Symon Willems van Kerchem.

Jan. Janz. Orlers.

Adrian Henricz. van Tetrode.

Pieter Cornelis de Haes.

Dr. Willem van Moerbergen.

Cornelius Henricz. van Goten.

MEMOIR OF GAMALIEL BRADFORD, M. D.

BY CONVERS FRANCIS, D. D.

THE name of Bradford stands in an honored place on the records of New England history. From WILLIAM BRADFORD, the ancient governor of the Plymouth colony, — a man in the front rank of the Puritan worthies, — Dr. Gamaliel Bradford, of whom a brief notice is here to be given, was a lineal descendant, in the sixth generation. He was the son of Gamaliel Bradford, Esq., a gentleman who, by intellectual culture, manly courage, and the best qualities of a generous heart, won a high place in the respect of the wise and good.*

Dr. Bradford was born in Boston, November 17th, 1795. At the early age of twelve years, he had passed through the preparation usual at that time for admission to Harvard University. But, as he was deemed too young to meet the duties and hazards of a college life, he accompanied his father on a voyage to the southern part of Europe, and was placed in a Catholic seminary at Messina, where he remained nine months. The winter of 1808-9 he spent in London, and in the ensuing spring returned to Boston. His studies were continued at home, and in 1810 he entered Harvard University. Without the impulse of a strong ambition for the literary honors of college, his unquestioned talents, classical attainments, and keen intellectual activity gave him a highly respect-

* See a Memoir of him in the *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, 3d series, Vol. I., p. 202.

able position among the good scholars of his class. At the Commencement in 1814, when he was graduated, he delivered an English poem, which, as well as his poetry on other occasions, afforded gratifying evidence that he had not courted the Muses in vain.

Leaving college with the preparation of a ripened and richly furnished mind, Dr. Bradford selected for his calling the medical profession. While pursuing the studies of that department, he was occasionally engaged in the business of private instruction, and for one year held the office of assistant teacher in the Boston Latin School. In the winter of 1818, after a diligent attendance as a medical student at the almshouse, he was seized with the typhus fever, which prevailed at that place, and for several weeks his life was in great danger. He always thought that his constitution never wholly recovered from the shock of that illness.

In the autumn of 1819, he went abroad in pursuit of the objects of his professional education, and attended the medical lectures at the University of Edinburgh. He returned in the spring of 1820, and commenced practice as a physician in Boston. In March, 1821, he was married to Sophia Rice, daughter of Colonel Nathan Rice, who had faithfully served his country as a major in the Revolutionary army, and was held in high esteem wherever he was known. Dr. Bradford found in the virtues and the devoted affection of his wife a blessing beyond all price, especially under the trials which afterwards fell to his lot. A few months before his marriage, he had removed to Cambridge, where a more rapid progress seemed to be promised in his professional business than could be expected by a young physician in the city. During the winter of 1824-5, he delivered an excellent course of lectures on physiology in Boston, in connection with Dr. John Ware. In the autumn of 1826, he left Cambridge and returned to Boston. The following year, he gave up the medical profession, in the science of which few were so thoroughly versed, however its details of practice might be ill suited to his taste or temperament. He then undertook the management of a large brewery in South Boston, to the superintendence of which he de-

voted himself with great industry and fidelity. While Dr. Spurzheim was in Boston, Dr. Bradford, who was always a decided and strenuous adversary to the doctrines of phrenology, delivered three lectures on the subject, distinguished for scientific clearness and ability. The business of the brewery he continued till 1833; and, within a few months after he left it, he received the appointment of Superintendent of the Massachusetts General Hospital in Boston. The important and sometimes perplexing duties of that station he discharged in a spirit of vigilance, faithfulness, and strict firmness, alike honorable to himself and happy for the institution.

For some time Dr. Bradford had been suffering under a malady which filled the hearts of his friends with sad apprehensions. It was in 1832 that his health was first assailed by fits of epilepsy. These increased in frequency and severity from year to year. Hoping to find some wholesome and relieving influence from a voyage, he went up the Mediterranean in October, 1838, and was absent four months. But his failing health was not restored or assisted; and on the 22d of October, 1839, an epileptic attack of unusual severity terminated his life, at the age of forty-four years.

Every one acquainted with the intellectual character of Dr. Bradford will remember that he knew how to make the best use of the stores of an amply furnished mind. Few men could better sift the learning connected with any subject, so as to detach the available matter from a mixed mass. The steady clearness of intellectual vision for which he was remarkable enabled him to bring and keep before his view both the near and the remote bearings of a question. In conversing with him, one was often surprised to find in how few words he would lay open lines of thought before unnoticed, but now seen to be avenues to important truth. For all that ever wore the semblance of quackery or pretence he had a strong dislike, which expressed itself with severe honesty. A sham, however disguised under solemn forms or veiled with stately words, found little mercy at his hands. He appreciated well the meaning of the saying, that "Reasons and reason are different things." It was his habit to sub-

ject facts to a rigorous scrutiny, and to value them chiefly in reference to the general laws of which they are the expression. In the same spirit, he measured men and their doings by the standard of essential principles. There is a class of inquirers, who are seldom satisfied till they have removed the coverings gathered over opinions and actions by policy or custom, and looked at the central truth or falsehood which lies within. Dr. Bradford belonged to this class. He sought always to reach what he believed to be the last analysis of a question, and to arrive at the broad principle which includes all particular cases. What may have seemed to some like extravagance in his views of political and social subjects was, in truth, the result of a philosophical spirit, that aimed to penetrate beyond conventional accidents to the foundation of man's relations and rights. Hence he had the wisdom of hope, which believes wrong to be remediable, simply because it is wrong. "The greatest evils and the most lasting," it has been said, in words which might well express his doctrine of reform, "are the perverse fabrications of unwise policy; but neither their magnitude nor their duration are proofs of their immobility. They are proofs only that ignorance and indifference have slept profoundly in the chambers of tyranny, and that many interests have grown up, and seeded and twisted their roots in the crevices of many wrongs." *

The character of Dr. Bradford's mind was strictly analytical. But he never undervalued those truths which find their justification in sentiment, provided the sentiment were not another name for transient or perverted feeling. On the contrary, he regarded these as expressions of the soul's essential laws, and found their sufficient defence in the fact, that they are imbedded in the constitution of human nature. Though he loved to look at things in the dry light of the understanding, yet he never forgot that the understanding alone cannot solve the great problem of man and his aspirations. His instinctive sense of right was quick, while his demand for evidence was searching and not easily satisfied. It is worthy of remark,

* *Landor's Imaginary Conversations*, Vol. III., p. 71.

that the perverting influences which have sometimes been ascribed to medical studies, in questions of intellectual philosophy, never misled his mind. His faith in the intense reality of the spiritual nature was strong; and he never gave his sanction to the shallow speculations which would find an account of man's whole being in the action of material laws.

In medical science the learning of Dr. Bradford was unquestionably ample, and his judgment sound and enlightened. But his interest as a student reached far beyond the limits of his professional inquiries. This was especially the case in the latter part of his life, when the great questions of intellectual and ethical philosophy were among his most frequent subjects of thought and conversation. He took much delight in the best books on these topics. Sir James Mackintosh was his peculiarly favorite author; and it was not long before his death that he spoke with intense pleasure of the memoirs of that admirable writer, which he had then just read. From these severer studies he found a healthful recreation of mind in the best romances and works of fiction, which afforded him great pleasure, and of which he judged with fine critical taste.

As a writer, Dr. Bradford was much and very favorably known, chiefly, however, in short and occasional efforts. These productions of his pen are numerous, and are mostly to be found in various journals of the day.* They bear honorable testimony to his power of clear, vigorous thought, his love of truth, and his fearless honesty of mind. He wrote with ease, and was fond of this exercise of talent. Had the powers of his mind been earnestly concentrated upon some large and important work, he would have

* They consist principally of essays and reviews published in the *Boston Spectator*, *The Nondescript*, *New England Journal*, *United States Literary Gazette*, *New England Magazine*, *North American Review*, and *Christian Examiner*. Dr. Bradford's address to the Massachusetts Temperance Society, and his letter to Fletcher, Sprague, and Otis, on Slavery, were published in a pamphlet form. His speech when the Abolitionists had a hearing before a committee of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, in the spring of 1831, was published as a pamphlet, and also in *The Liberator*. These various writings amount to about eighty different pieces. While they all bear the stamp of no ordinary mind, some of them are enlivened with that well directed humor which formed a part of the composition of Dr. Bradford's genius. It should be added, that he twice officiated as poet at the anniversaries of the Phi Beta Kappa Society in Cambridge, namely, in 1820 and in 1827. These poems were not published.

left a memorial of his genius among the writings not soon to be forgotten.

It may be said of Dr. Bradford, not only that his moral standard was high, but that it rose higher the more he became involved in the duties and the business of life. He never paltered with conscience or principle. No shuffling devices ever degraded his opinions or conduct. Dr. Bradford was eminently a man of integrity. Every one who knew him relied spontaneously on the forthright and thorough honesty of the man. In all transactions with others, and in the discharge of any trust, his faithfulness was minutely scrupulous. He would never avail himself of excuses even for those slight deviations from accuracy which are by common consent considered venial. But his integrity, exact as it was in these respects, reached much further. It directed and shaped his convictions, his opinions, and the use he made of his influence. It was a principle which rendered him faithful in all outward relations, because he was first faithful to his own soul. There was no hollowness at the surface, because the centre was sound. His thoughts and deeds were true to the law of right; his purposes and acts sprung from a moving power in his own moral nature, not from gusty influences abroad. Thus he was a whole man, not a compound of pieces and fragments, which have no harmony, and hold together only so long as they are surrounded by an outward pressure from the world's law or fashion. His integrity was not the varnish of conventional honesty in the affairs of the world, but the spontaneous form of thought and action taken by one who desires *to be* rather than *to seem*. It proved itself no less in fidelity to his convictions of right, than in fidelity to his engagements. His truthfulness might sometimes seem stern or abrupt; but its meaning was honest and even kind. No one could know him without perceiving that his indignation at wrong expressed a sentiment inspired alike by benevolence and by a sound logic, and that he was quite fearless in manifesting the feeling. From this source sprung his enlightened and firm attachment to the cause of Anti-slavery, a cause which he believed to rest on the high ground of unalterable right, as well as of pure humanity. His spirited

and forcible speech in March, 1831, when the Abolitionists had a hearing before a committee of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, left a deep impression at the time, and will be long remembered by those who were present on that occasion.

Dr. Bradford cherished a true and living interest in the Christian religion, both speculative and practical. The great questions it suggests to every thoughtful mind arrested his earnest attention, as questions reaching to the foundation of our being; and the importance of its sanctions to the true conduct of life was apprehended by him in all its extent. The progress of years quickened his feelings and strengthened his convictions on this subject. In the latter part of his life, the highest truths became matters of a more searching and personal interest to him than ever. They made themselves felt in all his principles; and he would have deemed it a shallow folly to think of constructing a system of philosophy or ethics, without the religious sentiment at its centre.

On the whole, we may say that here was a true, enlightened, upright man, — one who thought soundly and clearly, and kept the eye of his mind ever fixed on great principles, — a man of realities, not of devices. Those who knew him will always feel, that, in the remembrance of his fine talents and his unbending probity, they have that record of wisdom and virtue which gives forth an imperishable blessing. We are reminded of the very significant words of an ancient English drama: —

“ I have ever thought
Nature doth nothing so great for great men,
As when she 's pleased to make them lords of truth :
Integrity of life is fame's best friend,
Which nobly, beyond death, shall crown the end.” *

* Webster's *Duchess of Melfi*.

NOTICE OF ORONO, A CHIEF AT PENOBSCOT.

BY WILLIAM D. WILLIAMSON.

To the Massachusetts Historical Society :

THE following original sketch is most respectfully presented by a corresponding member.

WILLIAM D. WILLIAMSON.

Bangor, Me., March 12, 1838.

JOSEPH ORONO, the subject of this sketch, was, for a long time, the well known chief of the Tarratine Indians, on the river Penobscot. But, though he was only an Indian sagamore, his name, for the merits of his character, is worthy of remembrance and respect. His ancestry, as well as the exact number of his years, is involved in some doubt. For there are no family names among the natives, by which the lineage of any individual can be traced ; as a son inherits no name of his father.

There has been a story, that he was a native of York in this State, born about the year 1638 ; that his paternal name was Donnel ; and that he was one of the captive children taken in the winter of 1692, when that place was ravaged by the Indians. But this account is improbable ; as the Northern Indians and those of the Merrimac and Androscoggin made the attack, and soon afterwards sent back to the garrison-houses the elderly women, and the children between the ages of three and seven years, in recompense to the English for previously sparing the lives of several Indian females and children at Pejepscot.

At that time, moreover, the Donnel family was one of the most distinguished in the province, Samuel being the same year one of the Council, and his brother a man of considerable note. So that, if a son of either of them had been taken captive, it is probable he was returned or recovered; or, at least, there would have been some traditional account of his being carried away. But no such report, even in York, has come down to this generation; and Captain Joseph Munsell, of Bangor, now in his eighty-eighth year, says the story has no foundation in fact, and has been treated by the intelligent Indians with derision.

Another account, equally amusing, and more evident, is, that Orono was the descendant of Baron de Castine, a French nobleman, who, soon after the treaty of Breda, in 1667, located himself on the peninsula of the town which now bears his name, and married a daughter of the celebrated Madockawando, a Tarratine chief of the age. It is true, that Castine resided many years at that place, and carried on a very lucrative trade with the natives; that he had three or four Tarratine wives, one being that sagamore's daughter; and that, of his several children, one was "Castine the younger," a very worthy man, and another, a beautiful daughter, who married a Frenchman, and was, with her children, in 1704, taken captive. One of these, it has been supposed, was Orono;* yet this rests too much on mere probability and conjecture, to deserve entire belief.

But whatever may have been the lineage or extraction of Orono, it is certain he was white in part, a half-breed or more;—such being apparent in his stature, features, and complexion. He himself told Captain Munsell, his father was a Frenchman, and his mother was half French and half Indian; but who they were by name, he did not state. Orono had not the copper-colored countenance, the sparkling eyes, the high cheek-bones, and tawny features of a pristine native. On the contrary, his eyes were of a bright blue shade, penetrating, and full of intelligence and benignity. His hair, when young, was brown, perhaps approaching to an auburn cast; his face was large,

* Nickolar, his kindred, says, "Orono was some related to old Castine."

broad and well formed, of a sickly whiteness, susceptible of ready blushes, and remarkably sedate. In his person, he was tall, straight, and perfectly proportioned; and in his gait there was a gracefulness which of itself evinced his superiority. He did not incline his head forward, nor his feet inward, so much as Indians usually do. But what principally gave him distinction was his mind, his manners, and his disposition. For Orono was a man of good sense and great discernment; — in mood thoughtful, in conversation reserved, in feelings benign. Hence, he never allowed himself to speak, till he had considered what to say; always expressing his thoughts in short sentences, directly to the point. He had not much learning, being only able to read a little and write his name. But he could converse freely in three languages, the Indian, French, and English; perhaps, also, understand some Latin phrases in the Romish litany. To the Catholic religion he was strongly attached, and also to its forms of worship. Hence, the Rev. Daniel Little, of Kennebunk, a Protestant missionary to the tribe after the Revolution, unable to shake his faith, asked three times, before he could get an answer from the sedate chief, thus: — “*In what language do you pray?*” With a gravity much more becoming than that of the missionary, he very reverently, raising his eyes a little, replied, — “*No matter what, — Great Spirit knows all languages.*”

Orono's manners were both conciliating and commanding, and his habits worthy of all imitation. For he was not only honest, chaste, temperate, and industrious; his word was sacred, and his friendship unchanging. He was remarkable for his forethought and wisdom, — for his mild and equable disposition. Though he was not deficient in courage or any of the martial virtues, he was so fully aware how much wars had wasted his tribe, and entailed misery on the survivors, as to become, from principle, a uniform and persevering advocate of peace. He knew, and always labored to convince his people, that they flourished best, and enjoyed most, under its refreshing shades.

At the commencement of the French and sixth Indian war, in 1754, Tomasus (or Tomer) was at the head of the tribe, when he, Osson, Orono, and other chief men, so

warmly espoused the policy of perpetuating peace, as to prevent the commission of any mischief by their people, till after the Cargill affair, and the declaration of war against them by the provincial government. The fact was, that Captain James Cargill, of Newcastle, commissioned to raise a company of volunteers, enlisted and led them on an excursion into the woods towards Owl's Head, in the vicinity of Penobscot Bay. Discovering a party of Indian hunters, Cargill and his company instantly fired upon them, shot down twelve on the spot, and took their scalps; the rest, fleeing for their lives to the tribe, carried to it the tidings of the bloody and wicked transaction. Cargill was generally and highly censured by the white people, it being believed he must have known the unhappy hunters belonged to the tribe of the friendly Tarratines.

Never were the feelings of the tribe put to severer trial. For the provincial governor, perplexed at the nefarious affair, sent a message to the sagamores, stating that it was impossible to distinguish between their Indians and others; and that they must, within eight days, according to the last treaty, send twenty men to join in the war against the common enemy, or their tribe would be treated as belligerent foes.

"What! take arms in aid of men who had themselves broken the treaty, — base men, whose hands are reeking with the blood of unoffending Indians? Aunt'-ah', aunt'-ah' [no! no!]," cried the chief speaker in a council met on the occasion. "Sound the war-whoop. Strike through the false-hearted white men. Burn to ashes their wives, — their wigwams, too. Take blood for blood. The spirits of our murdered brothers call to us for revenge. The winds howl to us from the wilderness. Sister widows cry, — orphans too. Do not Indians feel? Cut their veins, do they not bleed? The moose bellows over wasted blood. The bear licks the bleeding wounds of its cub. O Metunk-senah'! Metunk-senah'! [our Father, our Heavenly Father] pity our mourners. Avenge ill-treated Indians. Our fathers told us, Englishmen came here, a great many, many moons ago. They had no lands, no wigwams, — nothing. Then our good fathers say, — Come,

hunt in our woods; Come, fish in our rivers; Come, warm by our fires. So they catch very great many salmon, — beaver too. They stay among us always. They call Indians, good brothers. They smile in our faces. They make wick-hegin [writings], to live here with us, — all one, the same people. They signed them, as they call it, — our fathers, too. Then Englishmen call the lands their own. Our fathers meant no such thing. Certain, they never leave their children to starve. Englishman always smiles, when he gets advantage. Then he loves us all greatly. When he wants nothing of Indians, he don't love 'em so much. Frenchmen never get away our lands. They sell us guns, — powder too, — and great many things. They give us down weight, full measure. They open our eyes to religion. They speak to us, in dark days, good words of advice. Englishmen rob us. They kill our brothers, when their hearts were warm with friendship, — when sweet peace was melting on their lips. We give them homes. They put the flaming cup to our mouths. They shed our blood. Did ever Englishmen come to Indian's wigwam faint, and go away hungry? Never. Where shall Indians go? Here we were born. Here our fathers died. Here their bodies rest. Here, too, we will live. Arise. Join Frenchmen. Fight Englishmen. They shall die. They shall give place to Indians. This land, this river, is ours. Hunt Englishmen all off the ground. Then shall Indians be free; then the ghosts of our fathers bless their sons."

The voice of Orono, himself then more than sixty years of age, was still for peace. "To kill the living will not bring the dead to life. The crimes of few never sprinkle blood on all. Strike the murderers. Let the rest be quiet. Peace is a voice of the Great Spirit. Every one is blessed under its wings. Every thing withers in war. Indians are killed. Squaws starve. Nothing is gained; — not plunder, not glory. Englishmen are now too many. Let the hatchet lay buried. Smoke the calumet once more. Strive for peace. Exact a recompense by treaty for wrongs done us. None! ay, then fight 'em."

But the young Indians panted for war, revenge, and glory; and as the government soon proclaimed that hos-

ilities actually existed against the Tarratines, all hopes of any immediate pacification were dissipated. At first, the Indians made some violent attacks, killed several people, and burned a few houses. But they were neglected by the French; time, war, and disease, they found, had greatly thinned their ranks; in the course of three years, they became discouraged, — such a period being always long enough to satisfy Indian warriors; and in 1759, the tribe was literally overawed by the establishment of Fort Pownall, on the westerly banks of Penobscot Bay. Therefore, in April of the next year, they entered into a treaty with the provincial government, and made war upon the colonists no more. The Tarratine tribe, before this war, was supposed to have contained seven or eight hundred souls. Their lodgment, or local residence, ever since the discovery of this region and probably long before, has been on the southerly part of Old-town Island, in Penobscot River, three leagues above its tide-waters, — a most beautiful plantation.

Shortly after the close of the late war, Tomer was succeeded by Osson, who was at the head of the tribe five or six years, perhaps longer. He lived to be about a hundred years old; having been commissioned by the government of Massachusetts *a justice of the peace*,* an office which he held to the time of his death, and which gave him the title of “Squire Osson.” Captain Munsell, who was well acquainted with him, says he was a very cautious, cunning man, — also a wise and influential chief. He always lived in good neighbourhood with the white people who settled within his territories, and had in return their unfeigned esteem. He died about the beginning of the American Revolution.

During the preceding interval of peace, Orono, next to Osson in political power, had, by his ability and prudence, acquired the confidence of his people so entirely, that they united and made him chief soon after the other's death. Orono was a high liberty-man, and from the first a thoroughgoing Whig. He could not imagine how the mother country could possibly wish to enslave or plunder the colonies, which were, as he thought, her distant chil-

* The only *native* ever appointed by government to any such office.

dren. Such were his views of riches, regions, sovereignty, and even glory, that he could not see how all of them combined could be any motive to so *unnatural* a warfare. Liberty, next to peace, was the sweetest sound that could salute Orono's ear. It was, to his experience, the gift and feeling of nature. In conference with his people, he declared it to be an inborn disposition of the heart, and natural habit of life, to strive against force and control, as against death. He felt it. He knew it. The wild creatures that rove through the woods he had seen happy though hungry, because they were under no ties that bound them. The brave little beaver fights a duel with a hunter-boy for the chance of escape. What being does not sigh and sicken in confinement? Does not even the spring-bird, then, forget its song? — the ermine its sports? All nature flourishes, when free. The Great Spirit gives us freely all things. Our white brothers tell us, they came to Indian's country to enjoy liberty and life. Their great sagamore is coming to bind them in chains, to kill them. We must fight him. We will stand on the same ground with them. For should he bind them in bonds, next he will treat us as bears. Indians' liberties and lands his proud spirit will tear away from them. Help his ill-treated sons; they will return good for good, and the law of love run through the hearts of their children and ours, when we are dead. Look down the stream of time. Look up to the Great Spirit. Be kind, be valiant, be free: — then are Indians the sons of glory.

Aroused and captivated by Orono's sentiments, his people generally became decided Whigs. He had also great influence with the sachems at Passamaquoddy, and even at the river St. John, though in each of the tribes there were Indian Tories, and party spirit ran high; human nature, whether cultivated or wild, exhibiting the same traits of character. At length, Orono and three of his colleagues started to go and tender their friendship and services to the government of Massachusetts, attended by Andrew Gilman, who could speak their language as well as his own. On their arrival at Portsmouth, money was liberally contributed to bear their expenses, and a carriage procured to help them on their journey. They met the

Provincial Congress at Watertown, June 21, 1775, and entered into a treaty of amity with that body, and of engagements to afford assistance; afterwards proving themselves to be among the most faithful allies of the American people. In return for their pledges of good faith and immediate aid, Massachusetts forbade, under severe penalties, all trespasses on their lands, six miles in width on each side of Penobscot River from the head of the tide upwards. On the 19th of July, 1776, the three tribes mentioned all acknowledged the independence of the United States, and engaged to withhold all succours from the British enemy. In fact, there were stationed near the head of the tide on the Penobscot a company of thirty (twenty white men and ten Indians), under the command of Andrew Gilman, a lieutenant, and Joseph Munsell, an orderly-sergeant, both previously mentioned; and at Machias, where Munsell was afterwards himself a lieutenant, there was a large company of one hundred Indians or more, commanded by Captain John Preble, all of whom had rations, and most of them were under pay. No man was more faithful to his engagements than Orono. From 1779, when the British took possession of the peninsula 'Biguydun (now Castine), and exercised an arbitrary command over all the settlements on each side of the river, that active, vigilant chief communicated with great despatch to our officers and government important and repeated intelligence; for which he once, if not more, received a tribute of special thanks, and also a pecuniary reward. He was wise in counsel, and his zeal to the last was inspiring to his tribe.

Orono was holden in equally high estimation after the war as before; and in 1785 and 1796, he entered into favorable treaties with Massachusetts, by which he and his tribe, for valuable considerations, assigned to her large tracts of land; and also agreed with her upon the limits and extent of the territory retained. This celebrated chief, after a very long life of usefulness and distinction, died at Oldtown, February 5, 1802; reputed to have been one hundred and thirteen* years old. But Captain Munsell, who conversed with him in his last sickness, and asked him his

* See Alden's *Epitaphs*, Vol. I, No. 69.

age, thinks, according to his best recollection, Orono told him he was about one hundred and ten years of age at that time. He was exceedingly endeared to his tribe, and highly respected by all his English acquaintance. To a remarkable degree, he retained his mental faculties and erect attitude, till the last years of his life. As he was always abstemious, and as his hair in his last years was of a milky whiteness, he resembled, in appearance, a cloistered saint. His wife, who was a full-blooded native, died several years after him, at an age supposed to be greater than his own. Of his posterity, it is only known that he had two children; one a son, who was accidentally shot, about 1774, in a hunting party, aged probably twenty-five; the other a daughter, who married old Captain Nicholar. So desirous were his English friends and neighbours to perpetuate his name and character, that, when the territory in the immediate vicinity of Oldtown was incorporated into a town, March 12, 1806, it was called "Orono," in compliment to the worthy old chief.

A few years after Orono's death, perhaps in 1806-7, the tribe chose AIRTEON their chief sagamore. He was a very contemplative, sensible man. Having occasion, however, in the course of a few years, to transact some business for his tribe with the Massachusetts government, he and two other Indians took a water-passage to Boston. Oppressed with anxiety and care for his people, and perplexed with the business on hand, he fell into a state of derangement, and stabbed himself, in Boston, so badly that he soon died. This was about the year 1811, — an event much lamented.

He was immediately succeeded by JO LOLAN (in English, Joseph Loring). Of all the Tarratine sagamores, his abilities were the most slender, and his wisdom the least. He was wholly Indian; chosen more on account of his parentage than his capacities, his mother being noted for her wisdom, beauty, and amiableness. Lolan's period of ruling the tribe as chief was short, as he died about 1815. His son was more capable than he, and did the greater part of the father's business while he lived.

Next, JOHN AIRTEON, son of the preceding sagamore

Aitteon, was chosen chief of the tribe; and on the 19th of September, 1816, was inducted into office with great formality. He is a man of light complexion, of a pleasant countenance, considerable abilities, and manifestly of a mixed extraction, French and Indian. He is the present sagamore. JOHN NEPTUNE is the lieutenant-governor or sub-sachem. He is a pristine native, as evinced abundantly by his features, eyes, hair, and complexion. FRANCIS, the first captain, is the most intelligent, and speaks English the best, of any in the tribe. Neptune, he, and two other captains were inducted into office at the same time Aitteon was, and with the same ceremonies.

INDIAN TRIBES IN NEW ENGLAND.

BY WILLIAM D. WILLIAMSON.

To REV. THADDEUS M. HARRIS, S. T. D., *Corresponding Secretary
of the Massachusetts Historical Society.*

SIR, — As the Indian tribes in New England will probably in length of time become extinct, I have thought any facts in relation to them would be interesting to the curious and critical antiquarian ; therefore I have penned the following sketches, which I submit to your disposal. Yours, most respectfully.

WILLIAM D. WILLIAMSON.

Bangor, April 15, 1839.

At the present period, there are three tribes of Eastern Indians remaining, that still retain their individual clan-ship and community of character. These are the *Tarratines*, on the Penobscot ; the *Openangos*,* at Passamaquoddy ; and the *Marechiles*, on the river St. John. The modern names by which they are called are taken from the respective waters where they are resident. For more than thirty years, the writer of this sketch has had some particular knowledge of these tribes, and with several individuals, especially of the Tarratines, he has had a personal acquaintance.

According to their own traditions, in which they all agree, they proceeded from the same stock, and were originally, as they state the fact, children of the same parents ; — the Tarratines being the eldest, the Mare-

* There is some doubt if "Openadyo" be the original name of this tribe.

chites next, and the Openangos the youngest. They all speak the same language; and it is manifestly true that their brotherhood is always what they profess it to be, uniform and unchanging. Each tribe has its own sagamore, sachem, and counsellor-captains; yet in neither are these functionaries inducted into office without the presence and aid of a delegation from the other two tribes. Not only in this particular, but also in all former wars and treaties with the English, they have always acted in concert. It may be owing to this policy, principally, that these tribes have outlived all the others of New England. Before this country was visited by the Europeans, it is believed that the sagamore and sachem, the first and second in authority, came to their offices by hereditary right. But so far back as any facts about it have been known by the white people, their officers have severally been elective. They say, the male Indians of a tribe are voters in elections, who are twenty years old and upwards, each giving his vote for or against a candidate *vivâ voce*, in the Indian words, *chu'-ee*, yes, or *aun'-tah*, no. On these occasions, party spirit often runs high; aspirants have their zealous and active adherents; and electioneering is carried on with the address common among people more civilized. For the ancient appellations of Sagamore and Sachem, are substituted, in modern times, Governor and Lieutenant-governor, borrowed unquestionably from the English.

The chiefs, who have been at the head of the Tarratine tribe since 1816, are *John Aitteon*, governor, *John Neptune*, lieutenant-governor. But unhappily the tribe has, for several years, been divided into two parties, — originally and principally occasioned by a quarrel between those chieftains, the latter having been suspected by the former of seducing his wife. The whole tribe took sides with the one or the other; and therefore their councils at times have been much distracted. Aitteon is of a placid disposition, manifestly indicated by a bluish eye and a smiling countenance. In stature, he is tall, straight, and well proportioned; and in intellect, in knowledge of business, and in ability to speak English, he holds a place inferior to several others. It is supposed he is not an un-

mixed native,—perhaps a half-breed. But Neptune is unquestionably a pristine, full-blooded Indian. He is of a copper color;—in person stout, thick set, with broad shoulders, large face, high cheek-bones, small mouth, and black, sparkling eyes. His understanding, intelligence, and shrewdness are of the first order. He is very collected in his deportment, and always carries with him an air of authority. Such, in short, are his native peculiarities, that a limner has without reward painted his portrait for exhibition. He is altogether superior to Aitteon in every thing, except in character. For he is said to be the most lascivious Indian there ever was in the tribe. He had the address, after a time, to make peace with Aitteon for the injury mentioned; and subsequently their councils have not been divided. The Indians say, he is arbitrary and self-willed, makes too free with ardent spirits, and has ten or a dozen bastard papposes. Hence his personal conduct and some of his official measures have occasioned him many foes, among whom are several of the likeliest Indians in the tribe. Since Aitteon became reconciled to him, and has generally agreed with him in the measures pursued, they have, among the tribe, both been subjects of the same dislike and opposition.

The disaffected part of the tribe, therefore, during the last summer (1838), consulted with the tribes at St. John and Passamaquoddy; and finding the latter one generally opposed to John Neptune, concluded to attempt a new choice of the chief officers. For this purpose, the month of August was appointed; and accordingly there arrived at Oldtown, in due time, two delegations, one of *twelve* from the river St. John, and the other of *twenty-one* from Passamaquoddy.

Of the former tribe, there were several of the principal men. 1. *Joseph Francis*, who is the lieutenant-governor, a very likely, intelligent man, much disposed to do right. To make himself and his tribe fully acquainted with the difficulties at Oldtown, he and his brother, Nicholas Francis, with three others, took a journey from home to that place, the preceding spring, travelling the whole distance in their canoes. 2. *Francis Sov'-eo*, of twenty-two years, was quite an energetic, considerate,

well disposed Indian. His father, *Francis Tomer*, the governor, being an old man between sixty and seventy years of age (as they said), sent his beloved son to act in his stead, and be received as his substitute. 3. *Captain Tomer* was the governor's son-in-law, who was "to assist in the same business." 4. *Newell Gor'-leet* brought the belt of *wampum*, — this being always produced and presented on such occasions, as a renewed testimony of their unchanging brotherhood and attachment. 5. *Soc O'Bear* was a captain of good appearance, and of considerable consideration among them. 6. *Joseph Turkle* called himself captain, — a man of pride and energy. It is true, he had been such prior to last Christmas, they said, when his captainship was disowned, because he did things that displeased the tribe. *Tomar Wallis*, *Louee Tomar*, and four others, formed the delegation from the *Marechites*.

From the other [Openango?] tribe, there were several distinguished Indians. 1. *Newell Neptune*, said to be thirty-five years old, but appeared much younger, was the lieutenant-governor, — a place he had holden twelve years. His countenance and conduct were both greatly in his favor, — he being thoughtful, discreet, taciturn. Though pleasant, he was sedate; and though he could speak English, he said very little, but what he did say was always to the point and purpose. His manners were both modest and manly; and his observing yet softened eye gave abundant evidence of superior intellect; — in a word, all these, with his beauties of person, rendered him the best appearing Indian ever seen in this quarter. *Sabbatis Neptune*, fifty-three years old, was the senior counsellor-captain, and chief speaker of the tribe. He said he had been such twelve years. He speaks good English, and is very open-hearted, communicative, and quite decided. He appeared to have great influence among the Indians, especially those of his own tribe. In fact, his lean face, his brilliant, searching eyes, and his deep-thinking mood, testify largely in favor of his intellect and good sense. Of those opposed to John Neptune, he was foremost. He said they had been troubled in no small degree with their own governor. As he told the story, — "After their good old governor, Francis Joseph, died, about five years past, they

made John François, two years afterwards, governor in his stead. He was then about forty-five years old, and a chief of good promise. But he was very full of temper. Three or four moons ago, the fire in his heart was very hot. He then threw down his belt and medals, the signs of his office, and said, *You have me for governor no longer.* Very quick, he brings all old writings from General Washington and papers from the State, and fling them down too, very hard. Our lieutenant-governor then takes them up, and keeps them safely. His squaw 's a very bad woman; a bad wife always makes a bad sanup [husband] worse." He said his tribe had only six counsellors; — four besides himself being present. These were *Nicholar Neptune*, *Solomon Francis*, son of the old governor, *To-mollou'-ey*, and *Peter Joseph Lou'-ey*.

On the day agreed upon for "making" new governors, as they call it, being Friday, August 31 (1838), early in the forenoon, there was hauled up to the top of the island-standard, which is tall and stately as a first-rate liberty-pole, a great, spreading flag, on which was a large red crucifix, cut from scarlet broadcloth, the perpendicular piece being four or five feet in length, and four inches in breadth, and the horizontal cross-piece, towards the top, two feet long or more. The other party, under Neptune and Aitteon, raised an opposition standard equally high, which displayed at its head a flag as large or larger than the other, with this difference only; — on the perpendicular of this crucifix there were two crosses, one towards the bottom, as well as one towards the top of it.

Under these banners, the Indians all assembled in the "Great Wigwam," called, on this occasion, the *Camp*, with the exception, however, of several Tarratines, who chose by their absence to avoid the controversy. All the others, who were old enough to vote, sat together; and the respective delegations were severally seated by themselves on the right and left, at the head of the assemblage. With all the gravity and self-command of a Roman senator, John Neptune rose and addressed all present in a short speech of pure vernacular. As it was not fully understood at the time by the English spectators, a few only of the sentiments, as afterwards interpreted by him, in the concise sentences uttered, can be given.

"Brothers :— We boldly come here ; we face the storm ; we fear not ; for our hearts are firm as rocks that never move. Shall Neptune and his Indians give place to bold words ? Shall he say, Come, take his rights and power away ? No, — never ; for quite twenty-two years ago, he and Aitteon were made governors for life ; ay, *for life*. This is the usage for ever of Indians ; our fathers always tell us so ; all those good brothers know it well. Yes, — some of 'em here present, from St. John and 'Quoddy, help make 'em governors then, in this same camp. All we remember it. The sun was bright that day ; friendship warmed every heart. The trees of our woods were all green. Now, enemies work. A breach is made near us. The storm beats through, hard upon our heads. The night is dark. Will brothers turn bears, to tear us in pieces ? Come they here to dig our graves before we die ? Then is our end come. Soon will white men push us all off, to drown. The Great Spirit sees it. His eye is in every star. He knows all things. Yes, he knows John Neptune has the soul of his father, never afraid. He never will turn his back to fighters, brothers or bears. He is sachem *for life*."

The only reply was from Sabbatis Neptune, who spake with more fluency, though with less force. "Brothers :— Good sagamores be morning stars. They make their Indians glad. Every thing happy rests content. No change is wanted then. They groan, that have pains. We come here, a great way from home, to hear what our brothers speak of John Neptune, and his party friends. Many say, he drinks a great deal of strong water. Then his words be very loud ; his eyes flash fire ; he stamps on the ground very hard. He is no more antler moose ; — he is Lunkson,* Loupcervier [the great catamount]. Now, then, he no see widows' tears, — he no hear orphans' cries. He is the moon, that often grows larger, then smaller. For sometimes he loves his Indians very much ; by 'nd by, he don't love 'em so much. No, no, — he love 'em best some woman-kind, — not his own squaw. Does he kill 'em deer, bear, raccoon, and feed 'em

* Indians say, this means "all one, kill-devil."

unlawful children he makes? Not half. Well, his Indians say, We have him 'sachem' no longer. They want a good governor, like old Orono; — to speak wisdom, — to show 'em good works. Such one is governor *for life*. Not so the bad one. When his heart be very wicked, his walk crooked, 't is right to leave him. We obey the Great Spirit, because he is good. Aitteon and Neptune are joined together; we no fear to speak; — we leave them together; we say amen."

Hence it was determined to proceed in the appointed business of the day. Solomon Francis, being designated to tell the votes, took them, and pronounced them to stand thus for the new governor, viz.

For <i>Tomar Soc Alexis</i> , — of his own tribe,	43 votes.
The Openangos gave him	21 "
The Marechites gave him	5 "

In all 69

Aitteon, son of old 'Squire John Osson, (not a relative of John Aitteon,) had the same number of votes for lieutenant-governor; when they both, and also seven captains, having a like vote, were all pronounced chosen according to the usages of the tribes.

For Aitteon and Neptune, severally, the	
votes from their own tribe were	36
From the Marechites	6

42

of which six, *four* were given by the lieutenant-governor, his brother, Soc O'Bear, and Turkle. The Openangos gave for them not one vote. It was also said, that twelve of the thirty-six were given by youngsters under the age of twenty years, and ought not to be taken into the account. But inasmuch as theirs did not change the majority, there was no discussion upon the subject. The triumphant party then proceeded to invest the new-chosen functionaries with their respective ensigns of office, in usual form; * the minority, with Aitteon and Neptune at

* In Williamson's *History of Maine*, Vol. I., Chap. XIX., pp. 495 - 498, the particulars of these ceremonies, in 1716, are given in detail; and therefore it is inexpedient to repeat the account in this place.

their head, leaving the wigwam, with no other manifestation of dislike, however, than looks of indignation. Nor would they afterwards, though specially requested, so much as speak to the 'Quoddy delegates.

Though there were in this electioneering campaign much of party spirit, and though the feelings of most were considerably ruffled, both before and after it was over, the decorum noticeable in the assemblage during the debate and election is worthy of being imitated by any legislative body of a civilized people. There was perfect order. Each speaker was attentively heard, without being interrupted; and the business was transacted without noise. For several days, however, after the ceremonies, the parties were quite indignant towards each other. The flags were kept flying; nor did the respective delegations immediately return home. Hence, the governor of the State, apprehensive of a high-handed quarrel among them, addressed to them a monitory letter, chiding their delay and urging their departure. This had its effect, probably; for they in a few days afterwards left Oldtown. Since that time, the old officers have been recovering their popularity; and it is believed they are still accredited as the chiefs of the tribe. Neptune has the wit, if he has the proper disposition, to reinstate himself pretty fully in the public favor, as his capabilities for government surpass those of every other Indian among them.

The tribe are by no means poor. For they not only own the islands in Penobscot River, between Oldtown and the Forks, or confluence of the east and west branches, many of which are valuable; but the State, December 31, 1838, owed them, for lands purchased, a debt of \$60,800; also interest thereon amounting to \$3,867; and an annuity of \$2,107, to be paid them yearly as long as they shall exist in their collective capacity. Their annuities and other dues are usually paid by government to their chiefs. For the purpose, therefore, of distributing their moneys and subsidies equally, a census was carefully taken, March 1, 1837, of all the families, by name, in the tribe, with the number in each family annexed. At first, John Neptune, the lieutenant-governor, and two of the captains, Pe'-el Tomar and Francis Pe'-neis, presented a

list of all the family names, in Indian, affixing figures representing the number of souls in each one ; and then they interpreted every name into English. The original catalogue was, in fact, made out by Pe'-el Tomar's son, who can read and write ; and when it was translated and finished, it was duly certified under a notarial seal. According to this census, taken with so much exactness, there were in the whole tribe *ninety-five* families and *three hundred and sixty-two* souls. There are probably as many at the present time.

Note. — The legislature of the State, in their late session, took so much notice of what was done at Oldtown in August last, as to pass an act, March 16th, 1839, by which the tribe are authorized to elect biennially from among themselves a governor and lieutenant-governor, to hold their offices for two years, and till others their successors be elected ; — who are to have all the powers and privileges appertaining “by usage and custom” to them in their functionary capacities. In order to effect an election, the selectmen of Orono are directed to take a census of all the male Indians of the tribe, who are twenty-one years of age ; and on the first Monday of August next, and every alternate year, at Oldtown, receive from all that are present their votes *vivâ voce*, severally, for those officers, — a majority to be declared an election : Provided, however, the said tribe do, on the day of the next August election, first adopt this legislative enactment for their future guidance and direction.

QUEEN ANNE'S INSTRUCTIONS TO GOVERN-
OR DUDLEY IN 1702.

*From the Original Manuscript, given to the Massachusetts
Historical Society by Robert C. Winthrop.*

ANNE R. Instructions for Our Trusty and Welbe-
loved Joseph Dudley Esq^r Our Captain Gen-
erall and Governor in Chief in and over Our
Province and Territory of the Massachusetts
Bay in New England. Given at Our Court
at St James's the Sixth day of Aprill 1702
In the First Yeare of Our Reigne.

With these Our Instructions you will Receive Our Com-
mission under the Great Seal of England, Constituting
you Our Captain General and Governour in Chief in and
over Our Province of the Massachusetts Bay, and Like-
wise Our Captain Generall and Commander in Chief of
the Militia and of all the Forces by sea and Land, within
Our Colonies of Rhode Island, Providence Plantation and
the Naraganset Country or Kings Province in New Eng-
land, and of all Our Forts and places of Strength within
the same.

You are therefore to fitt yourself with all convenient
Speed, and to repair to Our said Province of the Massa-
chusetts Bay, and being arrived there, you are to take
upon you the Execution of the Place and Trust Wee have
reposed in you, and forthwith to call together the Mem-
bers of Our Councill in that Province.

You are with all due and usual Solemnity to cause Our



said Commission to be published at the said Meeting, and Notification to be also given to Our Colonies of Rhode Island, Providence Plantation, and the Naraganset Country, of the Power wherewith you are intrusted concerning the Militia, Forces, and Forts within Our said Colonies and Country as aforesaid.

You shall your self take, and also administer unto each of the Members of Our said Council, as well the Oaths appointed by Act of Parliament to be taken instead of the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, as also the Test together with an Oath for the due Execution of your and their places and Trusts, as well with regard to the equal and Impartial Administration of Justice in all causes that shall come before you as otherwise, And likewise the Oath required to be taken by Governours of Plantations to do their utmost that the Laws relating to the Plantations be Observed; And both you and they shall also Subscribe the Association mentioned in a late Act of Parliament Intituled *An Act for the better Security of his Majestys Royal Person and Government.*

You are to Communicate forthwith unto Our said Council, such and so many of these Our Instructions, wherein their Advice and Consent are mentioned to be requisite, as likewise all such others, from time to time, as you shall find Convenient for Our Service to be imparted to them.

You are to permitt the Members of Our said Council of the Massachusetts Bay to have and Enjoy Freedom of Debate and Vote in all Affairs of Publick Concern that may be debated in Council.

You are from time to time to send to Us by one of Our Principal Secretaries of State, and to Our Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, the Names and Qualities of the Members appointed to be of Our said Council, by the first Conveniency after such appointment.

And in the Choice and Appointment of the Members of Our said Council, as also of the Principall Officers, Judges, Justices, Sheriffs and others, You are always to take care that they be Men of Good Life, and well affected to Our Government and of good Estates and Abilities, and not necessitous People, or much in Debt.

You are hereby Authorized to use the Publick Seal appointed or to be appointed by Us for the Sealing of all things whatsoever that shall pass the Seal of Our said Province under your Government.

You are to take Care that all Writs be Issued in Our Royal Name throughout Our said Province.

You are to Observe in the passing of Laws that the Stile of Enacting the same be by the Governor, Council, and Assembly & no other.

You are also as much as Possible to Observe the passing of all Laws, that whatever may be requisite upon each different matter be accordingly provided for by a different Law, without intermixing in one and the same Act, such things as have no proper relation to each other, And you are more especially to take care, that no Clause or Clauses be inserted in or annexed to any Act, which shall be Forreign to what the Title of such respective Act Imports.

You are to transmitt Authentick Copies under the Publick Seal, of all Lawes, Statutes, and Ordinances that are now made and in force, which have not yet been sent, or which at any time hereafter shall be made and Enacted within Our said Province under your Government and Command, each of them seperately under the Publick Seal, unto Us, and to Our said Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, within three Months, or by the first Opportunity after their being Enacted, together with Duplicates thereof by the next Conveyance upon Pain of Our highest displeasure, and of the Forfeiture of that Yeare's Salary, wherein you shall at any time or upon any pretence whatsoever omit to send over the said Laws, Statutes and Ordinances as aforesaid, within the time above limited, as also of such other Penalty as Wee shall please to inflict: But if it shall happen that during time of Warr, no Shipping shall come from Our said Province within three Months after the makeing such Laws, Statutes and Ordinances, whereby the same may be transmitted as aforesaid, then the said Laws, Statutes and Ordinances are to be transmitted as aforesaid by the next Conveyance after the makeing thereof, whenever it may happen for Our Approbation or Dissallowance of the same.

And forasmuch as great prejudice may happen to Our

Service and the Security of Our said Province by your absence from those parts, without a Sufficient Cause and especiall Leave from Us, For the Prevention thereof, you are not upon any pretence whatsoever to come to Europe from your Government without haveing first obtained Leave for so doing from Us under Our Sign Manuall and Signet, or by Order in Our Privy-Councill.

You are to take Care that in all Acts or Orders to be passed within that Our Province, in any Case for Levying money, or imposeing Fines and Penalties Express mention be made, that the same is granted or Reserved to Us, Our Heirs and Successors for the Publick use of that Our Province, and the Support of the Government thereof, as by the said Act or Order shall be Directed.

Whereas it is Necessary that due Provision be made for the Support of the Government of Our said Province, by setting apart Sufficient allowances to you Our Captain General and Governour in Chief and to Our Lieutenant Governour or Commander in Chief for the time being residing within the same, And Whereas Our said Province of the Massachusets Bay has not hitherto taken any manner of Care in that matter, though the like Provision be generally made in Our other Plantations in America which are under Our Immediate Government, notwithstanding that divers of them are much less able to do it; You are therefore to propose to the Generall Assembly of Our said Province, and accordingly to use your utmost endeavours with them, that an Act be passed for Settling and Establishing fixed Salaries upon your self and others Our Captains Gen^l that may Succeed you in that Government, as likewise upon Our Lieutenant Gov^rs or Commanders in Chief for the time being, Suitable to the Dignity of those respective Offices.

And you are also earnestly to recommend unto the Assembly in Our Name, that care be taken by them for the building of a fit and Convenient House to receive you, and the Governor for the time being, which may be Appropriated to that Use.

You are not to permit any clause whatsoever to be Inserted in any Law for Levying money or the Value of money, whereby the same shall not be made lyable to be

Accounted for Unto Us here in England, and to Our Com^{rs} of Our Treasury or Our high Treasurer for the time being.

You are to take care that fair Books of Accounts of all Receipts and Payments of all such money be duly kept, and the truth thereof attested upon Oath, and that the said Bookes be transmitted every half yeare or oftener to Our Commissioners of Our Treasury, or High Treasurer for the time being, and to Our Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, and Duplicates thereof by the next Conveyance; In which Bookes shall be Specified every particular Sum raised or Disposed off together with the Names of the Persons to whom any Payment shall be made; to the end Wee may be Satisfied of the Right and due Application of the Revenue of Our said Province.

You are not to Suffer any Publick money whatsoever, to be Issued or Disposed of otherwise than by Warrant under your hand, by and with the Advice and Consent of Our said Council, But the Assembly may be Nevertheless permitted, from time to time to view and examine the Accounts of money or Value of money disposed of by Virtue of Laws made by them, which You are to Signify unto them, as there shall be Occasion.

And it is Our Express will and Pleasure that no Law for raiseing any Imposition on Wines and other Strong Liquors, be made to Continue for Less than one whole Year, as also that all other Laws whatsoever, for the good Government and Support of Our said Province be made Indifinite, and without limitation of time Except the same be for a Temporary end, and which shall Expire and have its full Effect within a Certain time.

And therefore you shall not re-enact any Law which hath or shall have been once Enacted there, except upon very urgent Occasions; But in no Case more then once without our Express consent.

You shall not permit any Act or Order to pass in Our said Province, whereby the Price or Value of the Currant Money within your Government (whether it be Forreign or belonging to Our Dominions) may be Altered without Our Particular Leave or Direction for the same.

And You are particularly not to pass any Law, or do

any Act by Grant, Settlement or otherwise, whereby Our Revenue may be Lessened or Impaired, without Our Especiall Commands therein.

You are to take all Possible Care in the granting of any Lands within Our Province under your Government, not already disposed of, that such Limitations and Methods be Observed as may best tend to the Safety and due Improvement of Our said Province.

And Whereas Wee have been informed that Great Spoiles are daily Comitted in Our Woods in the Province of Main and other parts within your Government of the Massachusets Bay, by Cutting down and Converting to private Uses such Trees, as are or may be proper for the Service of Our Royal Navy ; And it being Necessary that all practices which tend so Evidently to deprive Us of those Supplies be effectually restrained ; Our Will and Pleasure is, That upon Consideration of the Occasions of such Abuses, the Methods by which they are Carried on, and the Inconveniencies that attend them, You use your Indeavours with Our Councill and the Assembly of the Massachusets Bay, to dispose them to pass Acts, for the better preventing the further Spoil of those Woods, and for preserving a Nursery of such Trees as may be usefull for Our Service ; And in case you cannot prevail with them to pass Acts proper and Sufficient for those Purposes, that you send Over hither the Heads of such a Bill, as may be Effectuall for those Ends, and fitt to be Enacted here.

You shall not remitt any Fines or Forfeitures whatsoever above the Sum of Ten pounds nor dispose of any Escheats Fines or Forfeitures whatsoever untill upon Signifying to Our Commissioners of Our Treasury, Or Our High Treasurer for the time being, and to Our Commissioners for Trade and Plantations the Nature of the Offence, and the Occasion of such Fines Forfeitures or Escheats, with the particular Sums or value thereof (which you are to do with all Speed) You shall have Received Our directions therein ; But you may in the mean time suspend the payment of the said Fines and Forfeitures.

In case any Goods money or other Estate of Pirates or Piratically taken, shall be brought in or found within

Our said Province of the Massachusetts Bay, or taken on board any Ships or Vessells, You are to Cause the same to be seized and Secured untill you shall have given Us an Account thereof, and Received Our Pleasure Concerning the Disposall thereof, But in Case such Goods or any part of them are perishable, the same shall be Publickly Sold and Disposed of, and the Produce thereof in like manner Secured 'till Our further Order.

And Whereas Wee have been pleased to Grant Commissions unto Severall Persons in Our Respective Plantations in America, for the Trying of Pirates in those parts pursuant to the *Act for the more Effectuall Surpression of Piracy*; And by a Commission already sent to Our Province of the Massachusetts Bay, You (as Captain General and Governour in Chief of Our said Province) are Impowered, together with others therein mentioned, to proceed accordingly, in reference to Our said Province; *Our Will and Pleasure is* that in all matters relateing to Pirates, You Govern your self according to the intent of the Act and Commission aforementioned; But Whereas Accessories in Cases of Piracy beyond the Seas, are by the said Act left to be Tryed in England, according to the Statute of the 28th of King Henry the VIIIth, We do hereby further Direct and Require You to send all such Accessories in Cases of Piracy in Our foresaid Province, with the Proper Evidences that you may have against them, into England, in Order to their being Tryed here.

You are to require the Secretary of Our said Province for the time being to furnish you with Transcripts of all such Acts and Publick Orders as shall be made from time to time, together with Copies of the Journalls of the Councill and Assembly to the end the same may be transmitted unto Us and to Our Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, as above Directed, which he is duly to perform upon pain of Incurring the Forfeiture of his Place.

You shall Transmitt unto Us and to Our Commissioners for Trade and Plantations by the First opportunity a Map with the Exact discription of the whole Territory under your Government, with the Severall Plantations upon it, and of the Fortifications; And you are likewise to use your best Endeavours to procure a good Map to be Drawn of

all the Indian Country in the Neighborhood of Our Plantations in those parts, marking the names of the Severall Nations (as they call themselves and are called by the English and French) and the Places where they inhabit, and to transmitt the same in like manner.

You are likewise to send a List of all Officers Employed under your Government together with all Publick Charges, and an Account of the present Revenue with the Probability of the Increase or Diminution thereof under every Head or Article.

You are to Transmit unto Us and to Our Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, with all Convenient Speed, A Particular Account of all Establishments of Jurisdictions, Courts, Offices, and Officers, Powers Authorities, Fees and Privileges Granted or Settled within Our said Province to the End you may Receive Our further Directions therein.

You shall Likewise take Especiall Care with the Advice and Consent of Our said Council to regulate all Salaries and Fees belonging to places, or paid upon Emergencies, that they be within the bounds of Moderation, and that no Exaction be made upon any Occasion whatsoever, As also that Tables of all Fees be publickly hung up in all Places where such Fees are to be paid, And you are to transmitt Copies of all such Tables of Fees to Us, and to Our Commissioners for Trade and Plantations as aforesaid.

Whereas it is very necessary for Our Service that there be an Attorney General appointed and Settled who may at any time take care of Our Rights and Interest within Our said Province You are with all Convenient Speed to Nominate a fitt Person for that Trust.

You are to permitt a Liberty of Conscience to all Persons (except Papists) so they be contented with a Quiet and Peaceable Enjoyment of the same, not giving offence or Scandall to the Government.

You are to take care that Drunkenness and Debauchery Swearing and Blasphemy be discountenanced & Punished, and that none be admitted to Publick Trusts and Employments in Our said Province under Your Government whose ill Fame and Conversation may occasion Scandal.

You shall Administer or Cause to be Administred the Oaths appointed by Act of Parliament to be taken instead of the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy as also the Test to the Members and Officers of Our Councill and Assembly and to all Judges, Justices and all other persons that hold any office or place of Trust or Profit in Our said Province whether by Virtue of any Patent under Our Great Seal of England, or Our Seal of the Massachusetts Bay, or otherwise, and likewise require them to Subscribe the forementioned Association; Without which you are not to admitt any person whatsoever into any Publick Office, nor Suffer those that have been admitted formerly to Continue therein.

You shall send an Account to Us, and to Our Commissioners for Trade and Plantations of the present Number of Planters and Inhabitants, Men, Women and Children, as well Masters as Servants, Free and Unfree, and of the Slaves in Our said Province as also a yearly Acc^t of the Increase or Decrease of them, and how many of them are fitt to bear Arms in the Militia of Our said Province.

You shall also Cause an Exact Acc^t to be kept of all Persons born, Christened and Buried, And You shall yearly send fair Abstracts thereof to Us and to Our Commissioners for Trade and Plantations as aforesaid.

You are to take Care that no Mans life, Member, Freehold or Goods be taken away or harmed in Our said Province under Your Government, otherwise then by Established and known Laws, not repugnant to, but as much as may be agreeable to the Laws of England.

You shall take care that all Planters and Christian Servants be well and fitly provided with Arms and That they be listed under good Officers, and when and as often as shall be thought fit, Mustered and Trained, whereby they may be in a better readiness for the Defence of Our Province under Your Government, And You are to Use your utmost Endeavours, that Such Planters do each of them keep such a Number of White Servants, as by Law is directed, and that they Appear in Arms at all such times as they shall be required.

You are to take Especiall care that neither the Frequency nor unreasonableness of remote Marches Musters

and Trainings, be an unnecessary Impediment to the Affairs of the Inhabitants.

You shall not upon any Occasion whatsoever Establish or put in Execution any Articles of Warr, or other Law Martial, upon any of Our Subjects, Inhabitants of Our said Province without the Advice and Consent of Our Council there.

And Whereas there is no Power given you by Your Commission to Execute Martial Law in time of Peace, upon Soldiers in pay and that Nevertheless it may be Necessary that some Care be Taken for the Keeping of good Discipline amongst Those that Wee may at any time think fitt to send into Our said Province (which may properly be Provided for by the Legislative Power of the same) You are therefore to recommend unto the general Assembly of Our said Province, that (if not already done) they prepare such Act or Law for the Punishing of Mutiny, Desertion and false Musters and for the Better Preserving of Good Discipline amongst the said Soldiers, as may best Answer those ends.

And Whereas upon Complaints that have been made unto Us, of the Irregular proceedings of the Captains of some of Our Ships of Warr, in the pressing of Seamen in Several of Our Plantations; Wee have thought fitt to Order, and have given Direction to Our Lord High Admirall accordingly, That when any Captain or Commander of any of Our Ships of Warr in any of Our said Plantations shall have Occasion for Seamen to Serve on Board Our Ships under their Command, they do make their Application to the Governors and Commanders in Chief of Our Plantations respectively, to whom as Vice Admiralls Wee are pleased to Commit the Sole power of Impresssing Seamen in any of Our Plantations in America, or in sight of any of them; You are therefore hereby required upon such Application made to You, by any of the Commanders of Our said Ships of Warr within Our foresaid Province under Your Government, to take care that Our said Ships of Warr be furnished with the Number of Seamen, that may be Necessary for Our Service on board them, from time to time.

You are to Demand an Acc^t from all Persons Con-

cerned, of the Arms Ammunition and Stores sent to Our said Province under Your Government from Our Office of Ordnance here, as likewise what other Armes, Ammunition and Stores have been bought with the Publick Money for the Service of Our said Province, and how the same have been employed, and if any, how many of them have been sold, Spent, Lost, decayed or Disposed of, and to whom, and to what Uses.

You shall take an Inventory of all Arms, Ammunition and Stores remaining in Any of Our Magazines or Garrisons within Our said Province and Territory, and Transmitt an Account of them forthwith after your Arrival, and the like Account yearely to Us and to Our Commissioners for Trade and Plantations.

You are to take Especiall Care that fitt Store Houses be Settled throughout Our said Province for receiveing and keeping of Armes Ammunition and other Publick Stores.

Whereas it is Absolutely Necessary that We be exactly Informed of the State of Defence of all Our Plantations in every respect, and more especially with relation to the Forts and Fortifications that are in each Plantation, and what more may be Necessary to be Built for the Defence and Security of the same, You are so soon as Possible after Your Arrival in your Government to prepare an Account of the State of Defence thereof in the most particular manner, and to transmit the same to Us, and to Our Commissioners for Trade and Plantations and the like Accounts afterwards Yearly, in Order to Our Exact Information therein from time to time.

And Whereas Wee have been Constantly at Great Charge in Sending thither and Maintaining Ships of Warr to Cruize upon the Coasts of that Province, in Order to their Protection against Enemys by Sea, and have also lately been graciously pleased upon the Desire of Our Council and the General Assembly to Assist them in this Conjuncture with Stores of War from Our Office of Ordnance here You are therefore the more earnestly to require and Press Our said Council and the Assembly Vigorously to Exert themselves in Fortifying all Places necessary for the Security of Our Said Province by land, more especially in rebuilding that Important Fort at Pemaquid,

which they too easily Suffered to be taken and Demolished by the French Dureing the late War, and in Providing what elsse may be Necessary in all respects for their further Defence, In Order whereunto You are also to cause a Survey to be made of all the Considerable Landing Places and Harbors within Our said Province and with the Advice of Our said Council, to Erect in any of them such Fortifications as shall be necessary for their Security and Advantage.

In Case of any Distress of any other of Our Plantations, you shall upon Application of the respective Governours thereof, to You, Assist them with what Aid the Condition and Safety of your Government can permit; and more especially in Case Our Province of New York be at any time Invaded by an Enemy, You are to call upon Our Council and the General Assembly of the Massachusetts Bay to make good in Men (or money in lieu thereof) their Quota of Assistance according to the Repartition formerly sent thither; Assureing them that in Case of the Like Invasion of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay, they will be mutually assisted from New York.

You are from time to time to give an Account, as before directed, what Strength Your Neighbors have (be they Indians or others) by Sea and Land, and of the Condition of their Plantations and what Correspondance You do keep with them.

And Whereas by Our Commission for the Government of Our said Province of the Massachusetts Bay, Wee have given you all the Powers and Authorities of any Captain Generall over Our Colonies of *Rhode Island, Providence Plantation* and the *Nurraganset Country or Kings Province, Our Royal Pleasure and Intention is*, That in time of Peace the Militia within each of the said Colonies be left to the Government and Disposition of the respective Governours of the same: But so as that nevertheless in Case of Apparent Danger, or other Exigency, You do at all times take upon your Self the Superior Command of those Forces, as in the said Commission is Directed.

And That Wee may be the better Informed of the Trade of Our said Province You are to take especiall care that

due Entries be made in all Ports of Our said Province of all Goods and Commodities, their Species and Quantities, Imported and Exported from thence, with the Names Burden and Guns of all Ships Importing and Exporting the same, also the Names of their Commanders and likewise Expressing from and to what places the said Ships do come and go, a Copy whereof the Naval Officer is to furnish you with, and You are to Transmit the same unto Us as before directed, to the Commissioners of Our Treasury or Our High Treasurer for the time being, and to Our Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, Quarterly, and Duplicates thereof by the next Conveyance.

And Whereas Wee have been pleased to give Orders for the Commissionating of Fit Persons to be Vice Admiralls and Officers of Our Admiralty and Customes in Our Severall Plantations in America, And it is of Great Importance to the Trade of this Kingdom and to the Welfare of Our Plantations that Illegal Trade be every where Discouraged; You are to give all due Countenance and encouragement to the said Officers of Our Admiralty and Customes in the Execution of their Respective Offices and Trusts.

You are to Encourage the Indians upon all Occasions, so that they may Apply themselves to the English Trade and Nation rather than to any Other.

You are to Suppress the Ingrossing of Commodities, as tending to the Prejudice of that freedom which Commerce and Trade ought to have, and to Settle such Orders and Regulations therein, with the Advice of Our said Council as may be most Acceptable to the Generality of the Inhabitants.

You are to give all due Encouragement, and Invitation to Merchants and others, who shall bring Trade unto Our said Province, Or any Way Contribute to the Advantage thereof, and in Particular to the Royall African Company of England.

And you are to take Care that there be no Tradeing from Our said Province to any Place in Africa within the Charter of the Royall African Company otherwise then prescribed by the late Act of Parliament, Entituled, *An Act to Settle the Trade to Africa.*

You are not to Grant Commissions of Marque or Re-prizals against any Prince or State or their Subjects in Amity with Us, to any Person whatsoever without Our Especiall Command.

You are for the better Administration of Justice to endeavour to gett a Law passed in the Assembly (if not already done) wherein shall be set the Value of Mens Estates, either in Goods or Lands, under which they shall not be Capable of Serving as Jurors.

You shall endeavour to get a Law passed (if not already done) for the restraining of any Inhumane Severity, which by ill Masters or Overseers may be used towards their Christian Servants and their Slaves, and that Provision be made therein that the Wilfull Killing of Indians and Negroes may be Punished with Death, and that a fitt Penalty be imposed for the maiming of them.

You are with the Assistance of the Councill and Assembly to find out and Settle the best means to facilitate and Encourage the Conversion of Negroes and Indians to the Christian Religion.

You are to recommend to the Council and Assembly, the raising of Stocks and Building Publick Workhouses in Convenient Places for the employing of poor and Indigent People.

You are to propose an Act to be passed in the Assembly whereby the Creditors of Persons becoming Bankrupts in England, and haveing Estates in the Massachusetts Bay, may be releived and Satisfied for the Debts owing to them.

You are to take care by and with the Advice and Assistance of Our said Council, That the Prison there if it Want reparation, be forthwith repaired and put into and kept in such a Condition as may Sufficiently Secure the Prisoners, that are or shall be there in Custody of the Provost Martial.

And for as much as great Inconveniencies may arise by the Liberty of Printing within Our said Province, You are to Provide by all necessary Orders that no Person keep any Press for Printing, nor that any Book, Pamphlet or other Matters whatsoever be printed without your Especial leave and License first Obtained.

You are upon all Occasions to send unto Us by One of Our Principall Secretaries of State and to Our Commissioners for Trade and Plantations a particular Account of all your Proceedings and of the Condition of Affairs within your Government.

You are from time to time to give unto Us and to Our Commissioners for Trade and Plantations as aforesaid, an Account of the Wants and Defects of Our said Province, what Are the chief Products thereof, what New Improvements are made therein by the Industry of the Inhabitants or Planters, and what further Improvements you conceive may be made or Advantages gained by Trade, and which way wee may Contribute thereunto.

If any thing shall happen which may be of Advantage or Security of Our said Province under your Government, which is not herein or by your Commission Provided for, Wee do hereby allow unto You with the Advice and Consent of Our said Council to take Order for the present therein, giving to Us by One of Our Principal Secretaries of State and to Our foresaid Commissioners for Trade and Plantations speedy Notice thereof, that so you may Receive Our Confirmation, if Wee shall Approve the same.

Provided always and *Our Will and Pleasure is* That you do not by Colour of any Power or Authority hereby given you, Commence or Declare War, without Our knowledge and particular Commands therein, Except it be against Indians upon Emergencies, wherein the Consent of Our Council shall be had, and Speedy Notice thereof given unto Us.

Whereas Wee have been pleased by Our Commission to Direct that in Case of Your Death or Absence from Our said Province, and in Case there be at that time no Person upon the Place Commissionated or Appointed by Us to be Our Lieutenant Governor or Commander in Chief, the then present Council of Our foresaid Province of the Massachusetts Bay shall take upon them the Administration of the Government, & Execute Our said Commission, and the Severall Powers and Authorities therein Contained, in the Manner therein Directed It is Nevertheless, *Our Express Will and Pleasure* That in such Case the said Council shall forbear to pass any Acts but what are Immediately necessary for the Peace and Wel-

fare of Our said Province, without Our particular Order for that Purpose.

And Whereas the Lords Spirituall and Temporall in Parliament upon Consideration of the Great Abuses practised in the Plantation Trade, have by an humble Address Represented to the Late King of Glorious Memory the great Importance it is of, both to this Our Kingdom and to Our Plantations in America, that the many good Laws which have been made for the Government of the said Plantations and Particularly the Act passed in the Seaventh and Eighth Yeares of the late Kings Reign Entituled *An Act for preventing Frauds and Regulateing Abuses in the Plantation Trade*, be Strictly Observed You are therefore to take Notice, That notwithstanding the many Good Laws made from time to time for preventing of Frauds in the Plantation Trade, it nevertheless manifest that great Abuses have been and Continue still to be practised to the Prejudice of the same, which abuses must needs arise either from the Insolvency of the Persons, who are accepted for Security, or from the remissness or Connivance of such as have been or are Governours in the Several Plantations, who ought to take care that those persons who give Bond should be duely prosecuted, in Case of Non performance, Wee take the good of Our Plantations, and the Improvement of the Trade thereof by a Strict and Punctual observance of the Severall Laws in force concerning the same, to be of so great Importance to the Benefitt of this Our Kingdom and to the Advanceing of the Duties of Our Customes here, that if Wee shall be hereafter informed that at any time there shall be any failure in the due Observance of those Laws within Our foresaid Province of the Massachusetts Bay, by any Wilfull fault or Neglect on your Part, Wee shall look upon it as a breach of the Trust reposed in you by Us, which Wee shall Punish with the Loss of Your Place in that Government, and such further Marks of Our Displeasure, as Wee shall Judge reasonable to be inflicted upon you for Your Offence against Us, in a matter of this Consequence that Wee now so particularly charge you with.

By her Maj^{ties} Command
MANCHESTER.

NOTICE OF THE LIFE OF HON. LEVERETT SALTONSTALL.

THE late Hon. Leverett Saltonstall, an active member of the Historical Society, was born at Haverhill, in Massachusetts, on the 13th of June, 1783. He descended from ancestors who, through every period of the history of this State, from its earliest settlement, have been among its most eminent citizens and distinguished benefactors. His father was Dr. Nathaniel Saltonstall, a highly respectable physician.

He was placed, in 1796, as a pupil in Phillips Exeter Academy, under the tuition of the learned Dr. Benjamin Abbot; among his contemporaries and associates were Daniel Webster, Joseph S. Buckminster, and Lewis Cass. He entered Harvard College in 1798, in a class unusually large, and distinguished for genius and ability; his intellectual faculties, his love of learning, and his diligence in his studies gave him a high literary rank as a scholar. In his early years, and through his whole life, he was admired and beloved as a companion and friend. The purity of his life and the firmness of his moral principles secured entire confidence; the warmth of his affections, the generosity of his temper, the disinterestedness and frankness of his deportment, and the gayety of his heart, approaching to hilarity, rendered him a favorite companion in social intercourse.

He was admitted to the bar, in Essex County, in 1805, and commenced the practice of law at Haverhill; he removed to Salem in 1806, and in a short time acquired extensive practice and high reputation by his ability, integrity, and learning. As an advocate, his eloquence was powerful, persuasive, and brilliant; it was the eloquence of the heart, — the sincere and cordial expression of the ardent feelings and deep emotions of a generous and noble na-

ture. His voice was strong, melodious, clear, and flexible, and irresistibly attracted attention both in private conversation and in public debate.

He was for many years an influential and leading member of the legislature of the State; he was elected a representative in 1814, and a senator in 1818, and was chosen President of the Senate. He loved and was proud of his native State, and was zealously devoted to the promotion of its interests. His efficiency in debate, and his enjoyment of the confidence of the members, enabled him to subdue prejudice and conciliate support in favor of many measures important to the public welfare.

He was the first mayor of the city of Salem, and discharged with conscientious fidelity its arduous duties.

Mr. Saltonstall was elected a representative in Congress in 1838, and was appointed in 1841 Chairman of the Committee of Manufactures, to whom was committed the arduous duty of arranging and adjusting a new tariff. It was a work of difficulty and magnitude, and was performed by him with patience, research, and untiring zeal. The report and bill which he presented in behalf of the Committee are proofs of his severe labors and of the value of his services.

His public career was guided by rectitude and conscientiousness. He was always ready for a struggle in a good cause, and was not indifferent to the approbation of the wise and good, — *certamen virtutis et ambitio gloriæ, felicitum hominum affectus*. He zealously coöperated with his friends or his party in the support of measures and policy that his judgment approved; but, on several occasions, when measures were proposed by the party with which he usually acted, from the justice or expediency of which he dissented, he without reserve controverted and opposed them at the hazard of his popularity. Loyalty to party he deemed best proved by loyalty to truth and rectitude. He was inflexibly honest in public as well as in private life.

He was a zealous and efficient supporter of all institutions of charity, learning, and religion. He was a sincere Christian; his faith was firm, and founded on an enlightened and candid examination.

He cherished through life an ardent attachment to the schools and to the University in which he received his early education. The ingenuousness and manliness of his deportment in youth, and his diligence in his studies, won the favor of his instructors ; through life, he enjoyed and reciprocated their friendship. It was a source of happiness to him frequently to revisit the scenes of his youthful education. In his will he bequeathed to Phillips Exeter Academy and to Harvard College testimonials of his gratitude and veneration.

His private life was an example and illustration of the highest social and domestic virtues ; he was benevolent, hospitable, and bountiful to the poor. Descended from a long line of ancestors, eminent for their virtues and usefulness, he emulated their excellence and reflected lustre on the brilliancy of the name.

Mr. Saltonstall died on the 8th of May, 1845, at his residence in Salem.

Ancestors of Hon. Leverett Saltonstall.

The first of the name who emigrated to New England was Sir Richard Saltonstall. He was grandson of Gilbert Saltonstall, of Halifax, in the West Riding of Yorkshire, in England, and son of Samuel Saltonstall. Sir Richard Saltonstall, who was Lord Mayor of London in 1597, was the second son of Gilbert Saltonstall.

Sir Richard Saltonstall, the son of Gilbert, was the first named associate of the six original patentees of the colony of Massachusetts Bay, and was appointed the First Assistant. On board the *Arbella*, while lying at Yarmouth, in the Isle of Wight, he, with Governor Winthrop and others, signed the "humble request of his Majesty's loyal subjects, the Governor and Company late gone for New England, to the rest of their brethren in and of the church of England," in which they take a tender and affecting leave of their native land, on their departure for their "poor cottages in the wilderness." They arrived at Salem, in the *Arbella*, on the 12th of June, 1630, and brought with them the charter of Charles the First.

On the 17th of June, Sir Richard Saltonstall, in company with Governor Winthrop, and other principal persons, left Salem and travelled through the pathless forest to Charlestown to select a place of settlement. The want of good water and of other conveniences induced several of the party to explore the neighbouring country. Some went over to Shawmut, now Boston; others proceeded northward by Charlestown neck to a place well watered on Charles River, where Sir Richard Saltonstall, with the learned Rev. George Phillips, and others, commenced a plantation, and called it Watertown. Johnson, an early historian, says, "This town began by occasion of Sir Richard Saltonstall, who, at his arrival, having some store of cattle and servants, they wintered in those parts." They entered into a liberal church covenant, July 30, 1630, which is published by Dr. Mather, who adds, "About forty men, whereof the first was that excellent knight, Sir Richard Saltonstall, then subscribed this instrument."

He was present, as First Assistant, at the first Court of Assistants, which was held at Charlestown, August 23d, 1630, at which various orders and regulations were made concerning the planting and government of the infant colony.

The sufferings of those engaged in this new settlement in the wilderness were extreme the first winter, and Sir Richard Saltonstall became discouraged from remaining himself, but left his two elder sons. Governor Winthrop has recorded in his Journal, that, "March 29, 1631, he, with his two daughters and one of his younger sons, came down to Boston and stayed that night at the governor's, and the next morning, accompanied with Mr. Pierce and others, departed for their ship at Salem."

Sir Richard Saltonstall through life continued to be the friend of the colony, and was actively engaged in promoting its prosperity. Two of his sons remained here, and he was interested as a large proprietor. When Sir Christopher Gardner attempted to injure the colony by misrepresentations, and on other similar occasions, — for Massachusetts was troubled in its infancy by false accusations of enemies, — he rendered the colony efficient assistance, and interceded in its favor with the government at home.

He was a Puritan, but of singular liberality in his religious opinions; he was offended at the bigotry of his associates, who, as soon as they were themselves free from persecution, began to persecute others, and he addressed to Rev. Mr. Cotton and Rev. Mr. Wilson a letter on the subject, and remonstrated against this inconsistency. It is written with ability and in a catholic spirit, and has been reprinted and admired to this day. He says:—

“Reverend and dear Friends, whom I unfeignedly love and respect:— It doth not a little grieve my spirit to hear what sad things are reported daily of your tyranny and persecutions in New England, as that you fine, whip, and imprison men for their consciences.

“I hope you do not assume to yourselves infallibility of judgment, when the most learned of the apostles confesseth, he knew but in part, and saw but darkly as through a glass. O, that all these who are brethren, though they cannot think and speak the same things, might be of one accord in the Lord!”

This letter, written between 1645 and 1653, shows the lively interest he felt in the honor and welfare of the colony.

Sir Richard Saltonstall was also one of the patentees of Connecticut, with Lord Say and Seal, Lord Brook, and others, and a principal associate with them in the first settlement of that colony. They appointed John Winthrop governor, and commissioned him to erect a fort at the mouth of Connecticut River. In 1635, Sir Richard Saltonstall sent over a bark with twenty laborers to take possession of land for him under his patent and to make settlements.

In 1649, he was commissioned with others, by parliament, for the trial of Duke Hamilton, Lord Capel, and the Earl of Holland, for high treason. They were condemned and executed on a scaffold erected before Westminster Hall.

Sir Richard Saltonstall has been justly styled “one of the fathers of the Massachusetts Colony.” He was a patron of Harvard College, and left it a legacy in his will,

made in 1658. There is a fine portrait of him in the possession of his descendants. He died soon after 1658.

RICHARD SALTONSTALL, son of Sir Richard, was born in 1610, settled at Ipswich, and was chosen an Assistant in 1637. He was a man distinguished for firmness and decision, attached to the principles of the New England government and churches, and an ardent friend to the liberty of the people.

In 1642, he wrote a pamphlet against the Standing Council, a subject that caused much agitation through the colony.

In 1645, he entered his protest against the introduction of negro slavery.

He was one of the few persons who knew where the regicide judges, Whalley and Goffe, were concealed, and in 1672 gave them fifty pounds.

He was a relative and friend of John Hampden (grandson of the celebrated parliamentary leader), who was distinguished in the time of Charles the Second and James the Second, and who joined in the invitation to the Prince of Orange. He, as well as his father, was a benefactor of Harvard College. Dr. Mather records the name of Saltonstall among those benefactors of the College "whose names it would be hardly excusable to leave unmentioned." All his male descendants in Massachusetts, except two, have been graduates at this college.

Mr. Saltonstall was absent several years in England, where he had three daughters married. He returned to Massachusetts in 1680, and was again chosen the First Assistant, and also the two succeeding years. In 1683, he again visited England. He was an Assistant, except when he was in England, from 1687 till his death; he died at Hulme, April 20, 1694, and left an estate in Yorkshire.

HENRY SALTONSTALL, who was in the first class that was graduated at Harvard College, is said by Governor Hutchinson to have been a son or grandson of Sir Richard Saltonstall. Like several other early graduates, he *went home* after leaving college, and received a degree of Doctor of Medicine from Padua, and also from Oxford, and was a fellow of New College in that University.

NATHANIEL SALTONSTALL, son of Richard, and grandson of Sir Richard, was graduated at Harvard College in 1659, and settled in Haverhill, on the beautiful estate half a mile east of the bridge, still known as the "Saltonstall seat." This spot, exceeded by none in New England for fertility of soil and beauty of landscape, was with other land conveyed to him by the Rev. John Ward, the first minister of Haverhill, on the marriage of the daughter of Mrs. Ward to Nathaniel Saltonstall.

He was chosen an Assistant in 1679. He took an active part in seizing and deposing the tyrannical royal governor, Sir Edmund Andros, and, after his removal, became one of the council of the revolutionary government, and so continued till the charter of William and Mary, and was then appointed one of his Majesty's council. His powers of mind were superior, and he was free from the prevailing bigotry and fanaticism of the times. He was opposed to the proceedings against the witches, in 1692, and expressed his sentiments freely. Mr. Brattle, in his account of the witchcraft, says, — "Major N. Saltonstall, Esq., who was one of the judges, has left the court, and is very much dissatisfied with the proceedings of it." He died in 1707, and left three sons, Gurdon, Richard, and Nathaniel.

GURDON SALTONSTALL, the eldest son of Nathaniel, was governor of Connecticut, and was celebrated for his extraordinary talents and extensive learning. Dr. Eliot says, "He was an oracle of wisdom to literary men of all professions." He was one of the greatest and best men New England has produced. He was a benefactor of Harvard College. His widow bequeathed to it one thousand pounds, for the use of two students designed for the ministry. He died in 1724.

RICHARD SALTONSTALL, the second son of Nathaniel, was graduated in 1695; he resided in Haverhill, sustained several civil and military offices, and was an excellent and very respectable man. He died in 1714.

NATHANIEL SALTONSTALL, third son of Nathaniel, was also graduated in 1695, and was a tutor in the College. He died young, and left a high reputation for abilities and learning.

RICHARD SALTONSTALL, son of the last named Richard, was born June 14, 1703, and graduated in 1722; at the age of twenty-three, he received the commission of colonel; and in 1736 he was appointed a judge of the Superior Court. In 1741, while the court was in session at York, the celebrated Rev. Samuel Moody wrote the following lines on the court:—

“LYNDE, DUDLEY, REMINGTON, and SALTONSTALL,
With SEWALL, meeting in the judgment-hall,
Make up a learned, wise, and faithful set
Of godlike judges, by God's counsel met.”

Judge Saltonstall was a man of talents and learning. He was distinguished for generous and elegant hospitality, and for bountiful liberality to the poor. His address was polished, affable, and winning, his temper was gentle and benevolent, and he enjoyed the love and esteem of all. He died in 1756, and left three sons and two daughters; one of the latter was married to Colonel George Watson, of Plymouth, and the other to Rev. Moses Badger, minister of the Episcopal Church at Providence.

He had been married three times; his third wife was a daughter of the second ELISHA COOKE, of Boston;—the first ELISHA COOKE had married the daughter of Governor Leverett; the second Elisha Cooke married a daughter of Richard Middlecott, Esq., a wealthy and respectable citizen of Boston.

Elisha Cooke, senior, and Elisha Cooke, junior, were distinguished for abilities and elevated character, and for forty years were popular leaders and champions of colonial rights and freedom; they were both representatives from Boston, and by their influence swayed not only the people of Boston, but the General Court; both were at different times sent to England as agents of Massachusetts,—the first to obtain a restoration of the old charter, the other to oppose the royal governors. The first died in 1715,—the other in 1737, leaving a son, Middlecott Cooke, and a daughter who became the third wife of Judge Richard Saltonstall.

NATHANIEL SALTONSTALL, who was graduated in 1727, was a brother of Judge Saltonstall. He was a merchant, and died young.

COLONEL RICHARD SALTONSTALL, eldest son of Judge Richard by his first wife, was born April 5, 1732, and was graduated in 1751, with high reputation for scholarship, having had "the oration." In 1754, he was commissioned as colonel of the regiment in Haverhill and vicinity, and was the fourth of the family in succession who held that office. He served with the provincial troops in the campaigns of 1756 and 1757, against Crown Point. At the capitulation of Fort William Henry, in 1757, when the Indians commenced the massacre of their unarmed prisoners, he escaped into the forest, and a day or two afterwards reached Fort Edward, nearly exhausted by hunger and fatigue. After peace took place, he was sheriff of the county. At the Revolution, he was a Loyalist, and went to England. He died unmarried, at Kensington, October 6, 1785. When he resided on the family estate in Haverhill, he was highly respected and beloved for his benevolence, hospitality, courteousness, and integrity. His younger brother, Leverett, third son of Judge Richard, was also a Loyalist; he died in 1782.

The late DR. NATHANIEL SALTONSTALL, father of our fellow-citizen just deceased, was second son of Judge Richard Saltonstall, above mentioned, and of Mary, daughter of the second Elisha Cooke. Dr. Saltonstall was born February 10, 1746. On the death of his father, in 1756, he was received into the family of his maternal uncle, Middlecott Cooke, Esq., of Boston. Dr. S. was a distinguished and skilful physician, and through life enjoyed the esteem and respect of his fellow-citizens. He loved tranquillity and retirement, and avoided the bustle and perplexities of public life. In 1780, he married Anna, daughter of Samuel White, Esq., whose ancestor was one of the early settlers of Haverhill in 1640. Through life she was distinguished for the gifts of her mind and the virtues of her heart. Dr. S. died May 15, 1815, and his widow in 1841. Their three sons, Leverett, Nathaniel, and Richard, are deceased; of their four daughters, two are living, Anna, wife of James C. Merrill, Esq., of Boston, and Sarah, wife of Isaac R. Howe, Esq., of Haverhill. The descendants of Dr. S. are the only descendants of the Cooke family and the Middlecott family.

THE CHRISTIAN
COMMONWEALTH:
OR,
THE CIVIL POLICY
OF
THE RISING KINGDOM OF JESUS CHRIST.

WRITTEN
BEFORE THE INTERRUPTION OF THE GOVERNMENT,

By MR. JOHN ELIOT, TEACHER OF THE CHURCH
OF CHRIST AT ROXBURY IN NEW-ENGLAND

AND
NOW PUBLISHED (AFTER HIS CONSENT GIVEN) BY A SERVOR
OF THE SEASON.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR LIVEWELL CHAPMAN, AT THE CROWN IN POPES-HEAD-ALLEY.

[THE Christian Commonwealth is here reprinted from a transcript which Thomas Aspinwall, Esq., American Consul in London, caused to be made from a rare copy of the original edition, in his library, and presented to the Historical Society.

The following extract from the Records of the General Court, Vol. IV., p. 370, will show the proceedings which took place in this colony in relation to this subject, after the restoration of King Charles the Second.

At session of May 22, 1661.

“ This Court taking notice of a booke entituled Christian Comonwealth, written, as is expressed in the said Booke by Mr John Eliot of Roxbury in New England, which in sundry passages and expressions thereof is justly offensive and in speciall relating to kingly Government in England, the which the said Mr Eliot hath also freely and fully acknowledged to this Court. It is therefore ordered by this Court and the Authority thereof, that the said Booke be totally suppressed and the Author's acknowledgment recorded; and that all persons whatsoever in this Jurisdiction, that haue any of the said Bookes in their Custody shall on their perills within fowerteene dayes after publication hereof either cancel and deface the same or deliuer them vnto the next Magistrate or to the Secretary, whereby all farther divulgment and improovement of the said offensive Booke may be prevented. And it is further ordered, that Mr. Eliot's acknowledgment & the Court's order for the calling in of those Bookes be forthwith transcribed by the Secretary and caused to be posted vp in Boston, Charlestowne, Cambridge, Salem and Ipswich, that so all persons concerned therein may take notice of their duties and act accordingly. All which was done accordingly.

“ *Mr. Eliot's acknowledgment, word for word.*

“ “ Boston this 24 of y^e 3^d mo. 1661.

“ “ Vnderstanding by an act of the honored Council, that there is offence taken at a booke, published in England by others, the copie whereof was sent ouer by myself about nine or tenn yeares since and that the further consideration thereof is comended to this honored Generall Court now sitting at Boston, Upon pervsall thereof I doe judge myself to haue offended & in way of satisfaction, not only to the Authority of this Jurisdiction, but also vnto any others, that shall take notice thereof, I doe hereby acknowledge to this honored Court.

“ “ Such expressions as doe too manifestly scandalize the Gouvernement of England by King, Lords and Commons, as Antichristian, and justify the late innovators, I doe sincerely beare testimony against, and acknowledge it to be not only a lawfull but an eminent forme of Government.

“ “ 2. All formes of Ciuil Government deduced from Scripture either expressly or by just consequence, I acknowledge to be of God & to be subjected vnto for conscience sake.

“ “ And Whatsoever is in the whole Epistle or booke inconsisting herewith I doe at once for all cordially disoune.

“ “ JOHN ELIOT. ”]

To the Chosen, and Holy, and Faithful, who manage the Wars of the Lord against Antichrist, in great Britain; and to all the Saints, faithful Brethren, and Christian people, of the Commonwealth of England: Grace and Mercy, with Peace and Truth be multiplied, through Jesus Christ our Sovereign Lord and King.

EVER HONORED, AND BELOVED IN CHRIST,

The late great Changes, which have fallen out in great Britain and Ireland, have so amazed the most of men; and the black, and confused Clouds, which have overspread the whole Land, have so darkened the way of those wheels of Providence by which Christ is coming to set up his Kingdom, that they whose eyes the Lord hath begun to open, to see Christ coming, in power and in great glory. according to his Promise, do also see the other part of his Word verified, namely, that the coming of Christ is in the Clouds of darkness; by means whereof it is long ere all men can see him, or be perswaded that it is he, who is now coming; though afterwards, they shall see that even those Clouds were needful, a while to obscure the bright appearance of his design.

Lately reading a Book called a *Plea for Non-subscribers*, or the grounds and reasons of many Ministers of Cheshire and Lancashire, &c. though I had before heard of the sad differences, distances of spirit, and dissatisfactions among the people of the Lord: yet then my heart bled to see such precious holy men, pleading (as they believe) for God, with a pure and sincere Conscience, and yet in so doing strongly to speak against the glorious work of the Lord Jesus, in casting down Antichrist, and setting up his own Kingdom foretold in Scripture, and now

fulfilling, as also strongly and sharply speaking against those whom the Lord hath pleased to employ, and improve as his Instruments in accomplishing thereof.

On the other side, those writings which that Book Answereth, have so missed the Principles on which the Cause standeth, whereby the Consciences of others should be satisfied, who oppose; as that the Answerers have clearly the upper ground of them in many things: and therefore stand firme in that which they suppose to be a right Cause, and weaken those who have indeed a right Cause in hand, insomuch as that hereby the difference is exceedingly encreased and sharpened.

Now though I am the most unmeet of all men, to undertake to interpose and speak unto such learned, grave, holy, and eminent persons, every way beyond me in all accomplishments for the Lords work, and in a Cause so much above me; yet was I pressed in my spirit, considering whose Cause I plead, to take the boldness to propound that unto them, which I believe to be the true state of the Cause, and which (by the blessing of God) may reach to their satisfaction; when they see that they, into whose hands the Lord (to the wonderment of men) hath been pleased to put power, do follow the Lord, and accomplish his Word, aim at the fulfilling of his ends and design, denying themselves, that they may advance Christ Jesus in the Throne, and let him reign over them. The prayers, the expectation, and faith of the Saints in the Prophecies and Promises of holy Scripture, are daily sounding in the ears of the Lord, for the downfall of Antichrist, and with him all humane Powers, Polities, Dominions, and Governments; and in the room thereof, we wait for the coming of the Kingdom of the Lord Jesus, who by his Divine Wisdom, Power, Government and Laws, given us (although hitherto sealed up in a great measure) in the holy Scriptures, will reign over all the Nations of the earth in his due time: I mean, the Lord Jesus will bring down all people, to be ruled by the Institutions, Laws, and Directions of the Word of God, not only in Church-Government and Administrations but also in the Government and Administration of all affairs in the Commonwealth. And then Christ reigneth, when all things among

men, are done by the direction of the word of his mouth: his Kingdom is then come amongst us, when his will is done on earth, as it is done in heaven, where no Humane or Angelical Policy or Wisdom doth guide any thing, but all is done by Divine direction (*a*); and so it shall be on earth, when and where Christ reigneth.

It is Prophetied, Dan. 2. 34, 35, &c. Thou sawest till that a stone was cut out, without hands, which smote the image upon his feet that were of iron and clay, and brake them to pieces. 35. Then was the iron, the clay, the brass, the silver, and the gold, broken to pieces together, and became like the chaff of the summer threshing-floors; and the wind carried them away, that no place was found for them: and the stone that smote the image, became a great mountain and filled the whole earth, &c. Which Prophecie doth clearly foreshew the forenamed points: for there is an epitomy of all the Monarchies, Governments, and Polities of men who have had their Humane Glory in this world; the last, and strongest of all which Dominions is the Roman; so mixed and interwoven in many States, by the combining of that dirty Roman Religion, with civil Powers, as that when that Stone Christ, by his faithful Instruments, shall overthrow, and beat in pieces that Religion, they must and shall, according as it is written, beat down withall the strongest Iron sinews of civil States, which are propug-nators, and supporters thereof, whether professed or secretly.

Yea, moreover, when Christ that stone, shall by his chosen Instruments, smite in pieces all the Romish Religion, and civil States, which are complicated with it, and supporters of it, (who though they greatly care not for it (*b*), yet for their own ends they are supporters of it) then, down cometh the whole Image from top to bottom; all Dominions and Governments of man, by Humane Policy, formes of Government and Laws in all places whatsoever, in Gods order and time; who by their fall

(*a*) Psal. 103. 20. Angels do his commandment; hearkening to the voice of his word.

(*b*) Dan. 2. 43. They shall not cleave one to another, even as iron is not mixt with clay.

shall be so dashed in pieces, that though they were before, a terrour to men, yet now they shall be light and contemptible things, of no more account with men then dust or chaff: because Divine institutions, both of Government and Laws, arising in the room of Humane, they will be quite darkened, even as the Stars are by the rising-Sun: for in the room of them shall arise the Government of the Lord Jesus, who by the Word of his Mouth, written in the holy Scriptures, shall order all affairs among men; And great shall be his Dominion: for the Stone Christ shall grow to be a mountain filling the whole earth: all men submitting to be ruled by the Word, in civil, as well as Church affairs.

Now it seemeth to me that the Lord Christ is now accomplishing these things in great Britain. The faithful Brethren in Scotland gave the first blow at the dirty toes, and feet of this Image; with whom the faithful brethren in England, presently concurred. But the Iron of the Civil State, stuck so fast to the miry clay, that according to the Word of Christ, they are (beyond all the thoughts of men) both fallen together; they are fallen, they are fallen, they are both fallen together: Oh that men would therefore praise the Lord, for his faithful Word, and goodness; for his mercy endureth for ever! and all his faithful Word shall be accomplished. Amen, Amen.

There be many other Prophecies of holy Scriptures touching these things (as the Saints well know) the application whereof to what is now done in England, I will not undertake, it being a worke rather for a Treatise then a Preface. Yea, some Prophecies, (as I apprehend) do more particularly describe what is now done; but I shall not mention them, hoping that others will do it, according as the Lord shall please to open that door.

Now these things being so, it doth deeply concern those holy and faithful ones of the Lord, who have been Instruments in his hand, to accomplish these great and glorious works, whether by Councils or Wars, or otherwise, to be wise, and discerning of the times, to know what Israel ought to do, in this great work of bringing about the Kingdom to David, to lay the Government upon his shoulders: that after all these clouds and storms, the peaceable

Kingdom of Christ may rise up, and the Lord May reign in England. Much is spoken of the rightful Heir of the Crown of England, and the injustice of casting out the right Heir; but Christ is the only right Heir of the Crown of England (*a*), and of all other Nations also (*b*); and he is now come to take possession of his Kingdom, making England first in that blessed work of setting up the Kingdom of the Lord Jesus: and in order thereunto, he hath cast down not only the miry Religion, and Government of Antichrist, but also the former form of civil Government, which did stick so fast unto it, until by an unavoidable necessity, it fell with it; which while it stood, and as it stood, was too high to stoop to the Lord Jesus, to be ruled by his command. Now therefore by these preparations made by the naked Arm of the Lord Jesus, to set up his Kingdom in England, he calleth upon those Worthies in whose hands he hath betruſted the managing of this great work, now to advance Christ, not man; not themselves, but Christ; which doing, taketh off those heavy imputations of investing themselves with Authority, of taking the inheritance to themselves. . . . God forbid, God forbid, that it should enter into our hearts, to think so unworthily, so unchristianly, so dishonourably of such renowned servants of the Lord, who have so graciously, and humbly ever given unto the Lord, all the glory of all their Victories, that now at last they should rob him of his Crown, Dominion, and Government; which to set up in England, hath been the mark and Scope of all these late great works of God; and if it be not yet done, surely it is either because the Lord hath not yet fully revealed to them, what his will is they should do in the midst of these confusions, or because the unquietness of the times permits them not to go about it.

That which the Lord now calleth England to attend is not to search humane Polities and Platformes of Government, contrived by the wisdom of man; but as the Lord hath carried on their works for them, so they ought to go unto the Lord, and enquire at the Word of his mouth,

(*a*) *Psa.* 2. 8. The uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession.

(*b*) *Rev.* 11. 15. The Kingdoms of this world are become the Kingdoms of the Lord, and of his Christ; and he shall reign, &c.

what Platforme of Government he hath therein commanded and prescribed ; and humble themselves to embrace that as the best, how mean soever it may seem to Humane Wisdom. Faith can see beauty, power and glory in any Divine institution, when Humane Wisdom may think it weak and contemptible.

There is undoubtedly a forme of Civil Government instituted by God himself in the holy Scriptures ; whereby any Nation may enjoy all the ends and effects of Government in the best manner, were they but perswaded to make trial of it. We should derogate from the sufficiency and perfection of the Scriptures, if we should deny it. The scripture is able throughly to furnish the man of God (whether Magistrate in the Commonwealth, or elder in the Church, or any other) unto every good work.

And when a Christian people are to choose their Government, should they take their patern from the Nations of the World (*a*), we know what an offence that would be to Christ, who intends to Rule them himself, by his own Divine Patern and Direction. Christ is now about to ruine the Roman-Image ; Wisdom therefore it is, to look above all such Paterns to find out a Divine Platforme, taught by God himself, which he will delight to bless unto such men as shall submit unto it.

And if there be a Divine institution of civil Government that may suit the State of England, I doubt not but all the godly in the Land would chuse that way of Government before any other in the world : for every Divine institution hath a Divine blessing in it. Yea, God himself is more eminently present, ruling thereby ; and the Spirit of God doth breath in and bless every institution of the Word, to make it powerful and effectual to attain its end better, and more effectually than any Humane Ordinance and Institution in the World can do. The Promise also of Gods blessing and protection is unto all those, who walk in Scripture-ways and Ordinances. Moreover, that uncomfortable difference among the people of God about that great business of changing the Government in England, would hereby be reconciled, and all

(*a*) 1 Sam. 8. 5. Make us a King to judge us like all the Nations.

things brought unto an holy peace, every one readily yielding that the Lord Jesus should assume the Sovereignty, to appoint them what Government to set up over them: and would most readily embrace that, whereby the Lord himself, should reign in England.

I think it needful to insert this word of Apology for myself; That it pleased the Lord of his free mercy to me (in myself being no way fitted for such a work) to put me on, to instruct our poor, blind, and dark Indians, in the good knowledge of the Lord: who when (through grace) they tasted of the knowledge of God, of themselves, of Christ and redemption by him; they desired to leave their wild and scattered manner of life, and come under Civil Government and Order; which did put me upon search, after the mind of the Lord in that respect. And this VOW I did solemnly make unto the Lord concerning them; that they being a people without any forme of Government, and now to chuse; I would endeavour with all my might, to bring them under the Government of the Lord only: Namely, that I would instruct them to imbrace such Government, both Civil and Ecclesiastical, as the Lord hath commanded in the holy Scriptures; and to deduce all their Laws from the holy Scriptures, that so they may be the Lords people, ruled by him alone in all things. Which accordingly they have begun to do through grace, covenanting with the Lord, in a day of fasting and prayer, to be the Lords people; and to receive that forme of Government, which they had learned to be a Divine institution in the holy Scriptures. This occasion did first put me upon this Study, who am no Statesman, nor acquainted with matters of that nature; but only spend my time in the Study of the holy Book of God. But having collected by the Lords help out of the holy Scripture this following forme of Government: and seeing the excellent harmony and order thereof, both in the several Courts, gradually ascending one above another, and all cases among the people coming under such a certain, and orderly way of receiving speedy issue; and all Appeals, having such a free and unprejudiced passage, in their gradual ascent, even to the highest, and final determination: These and such other things made me think, that it is a most de-

sirable, and peaceable forme of Government, and suitable to any Christian people, who reverence the Word of God; yea, the more eminent and Christian they be, the more suitable it is for them.

Especially also considering, that though the single form of tens, fifties, hundreds, and thousands, will be but of small capacity in great Commonwealths, and populous cities: yet the superiour orders, of Myriades or ten thousands, fifty thousands, hundred thousands, and thousand thousands, are exceeding comprehensive, to extend Government to the greatest people; and yet with that certain and peaceable order (without any interfering or confusion) for speedy Justice, and determination of all causes, as that it seemeth to me to be the most excellent Government that ever was in the World. And adding to this, above all considerations and commendations that it is a *Divine Institution*, sprung from heavenly wisdom commanded in scripture filled with the Spirit of God, which is able to carry on the Wheels of this Government, with a most irresistible and successful force and power, to the attainment of all the ends of Government among men most effectually. Yea, it seemeth to me, that this is that forme of Government, by which Christ meaneth to rule all the Nations on earth according to the Scriptures. Yea farther, repenting-believing *Israel* and *Judah*, I believe, shall serve and obey Christ in this way of Civil Government; and who knoweth but our obedience hereunto, may hasten and farther their coming in?

I would not exceed bounds of humble modesty; yet let me make bold to adventure the producing a farther Meditation, touching the Divinity and heavenly excellency of this Government of the Lord; namely, that the Angels of Heaven are governed by this order of Government, according as it is applyable to their condition. It is past all doubt, that there is an heavenly order, (I do not say Judicature, as with us) among the Angels: for as Hell is a place of confusion, so heaven of order; and if God is the God of order in the Church, whereby the place of his feet is beautified; much more is heaven beautified, by a most heavenly order of the Church there residing. And if *Solomons* Court was in that respect of a ravishing glory, name-

ly by the order of it, and of his attendants: much more is heaven in an excellent order, and all the Angels the holy attendants of Gods Throne, attending in comely order. And if the order of *Solomons Court*, was one effect of his great wisdom, can we think that the infinite wisdom of God, attended by Angels, Spirits of such wonderful wisdom, should not be attended in a most glorious order, and his attendants excellently beautified, by walking in an heavenly order? therefore there is an heavenly order among them. And that it is this order of tens, hundreds, thousands, &c. doth appear in Several Scriptures, where we find mention made of them in this order, wherein it is observable, that so great is the number of them, that they are not mentioned in their single order, but the lowest that I have observed, is Myriades of Angels. Heb. 12. 22. and so the Saints shall find them ordered when they come to heaven (a). They are also mentioned by the highest degree of the Superior order, viz. thousands of thousands; and not only so, but by a Supreme order, viz. Myriades of Myriades, Rev. 5. 11. which I call Supreme, being the highest I find mentioned in Scripture; but whether that be the highest order of Angels, is not revealed that I know of: but thus it seemeth unto me, that the Angels are in this order of Government. Likewise the Saints in heaven seem to be in the same order; for when Christ cometh to judgement, and all the Saints with him, 1 Thes. 4. 13. they shall come in this order, Jude, vers. 14. With Myriades of his Saints, behold the Lord cometh.

Now if this be the order of Government in Heaven, what an heaven upon earth shall that be, when all the Kingdoms and Nations on the earth shall be so ruled? and then shall the will of God be done on earth, as it is done in heaven, when he reigneth over men on earth, in the same order of Government as he doth in heaven (b).

Let me be yet farther bold to propound another Meditation, under the correction of better judgements, accord-

(a) Mat. 26. 53. Christ maketh mention of twelve Legions of Angels, for his present assistance, if he thought good; which is all one with Myriades.

(b) It is not nothing, that when Christ fed the people miraculously, he set them down by hundreds, and by fifties, Mar. 6. 40. as if Christ delighted in that order.

ing as I do the former, upon that text Dan. 7. 10. where is set forth the judgement of God executed upon Antichrist. Many things might be shewed out of the context, to prove, that it is not the last judgement, which is there spoken of. The means of execution of that judgment, is by the Wars of the Lamb, the Lord Jesus, as appears in the Book of the *Revelation* and the people executing those Wars, by this text seem to be a people ruled by this order of Government: which if it be so, may it not give some light to find out the ten Kings which shall hate the Whore, make her desolate and naked, eat her flesh, and burn her with fire?

These things considered, touching the excellency of this forme of Government, and especially the Divinity of it, and now also by a wonderful work of God, *England* being in a capacity to chuse unto themselves a new Government, and in such deep perplexity about that great Question, where to set their foot in peace; some pleading for the injustice of casting off the Kingly Government, others unsatisfied with the present, and all expecting what will be the conclusion. And seeing no Humane Forme, quiet and safe, to set down their foot upon, in rest and tranquillity, hereby all hearts are perplexed, sighing up to heaven for direction what to do, and where to finde rest and quiet to the Land. By this means, all hearts are prepared to embrace any help or counsel from the Lord; and when they have wearied themselves with differences, they will gladly all concur together to set open the door to let in the Lord Jesus, to give them rest; who hath been all this while knocking at the door, by these perplexing troubles: that his Government might be on all hands gladly embraced, and himself finde a free and peaceable enterance, to begin his blessed and waited-for reign over the Nations of the earth, according as it is Prophetied in the holy Scriptures.

Therefore in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, King of Saints (whose Kingdom I desire to advance, with all my might and heart) I do beseech those chosen and holy and faithful Saints, who by Councils at Home, or by Wars in the Field, have fought the Lords Battels against Antichrist, and have carried on the Cause of Christ hitherunto,

That you would now set the Crown of *England* upon the head of Christ, whose only true inheritance it is, by the gift of his Father (*a*): Let him be your *Judge*, Let him be your *Law-Giver*, Let him be your *King*! take the patern and form of your Government, from the Word of his Mouth, which will have power over the Consciences of all the people of the Land, and compose all differences about that point, into a sweet harmony of obedience and subjection to Christ our Lord and King, with one heart and consent; and will bring about all the people with one heart, and shoulder, to promote the designs of Christ, and yours also, when they see that yours are not for yourselves, but for the Lord, to accomplish all the remainder of the great works of the Lord, even until Antichrist be destroyed, and the Throne of the Beast burnt with fire, and the Kingdom of the Lord Jesus set up in many Nations.

You blessed ones of the Lord, who have so eminently, beyond the wont of Conquerors, humbled and abased yourselves, as no-bodies in the work, and ascribed all the praise and glory of your Valiant Atchievements, unto the Lord Jesus, whom by faith you did always see fighting for you, and (to your admiration) getting the Victory for you! You that have with an holy boldness of faith, made those dreadful appeals (unheard of in other stories) unto the Lord Jesus, to witness to the sincerity of your Cause and Conscience by his own arm, and in all your straights have never found him to fail you, or forsake you; but still made you Conquerors, not only of your Enemies, but (which is more) of your selves also, not to arrogate praise unto your selves; nor to improve your Victories beyond the bounds of Christian patience and love to the conquered; and all for the honour and glory of Christ, and his grace; that his Name and Cause might find room and acceptance in the hearts of your Enemies, whom you therefore used like Christian Brethren, and not like Enemies.

Shall such holy ones as you, need perswasion to set that Crown upon the head of Christ, which he hath put

(*a*) Psa. 2. 8. Ask of me, and I will give thee the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession.

into your hands to dispose of? where can you make a better choice, then to take the Lord to be your King? and where can you think to find, a better patern of Government, then in the Word of God? and where can you think to finde better Laws, then in the holy Scriptures?

This following Platform of Government, I do no farther urge, then you shall finde it to be purely deduced from the holy Scriptures. It is the holy Scriptures of God onely that I do urge, to be your onely *Magna Charta*, by which you should be ruled in all things; which being, Christ is your King and Sovereign Lawgiver, and you are his people ruled by him in all things.

And you my dear Brethren, the faithful Ministers of the Gospel of Christ, and all Christian Brethren, who do not yet see cause of submitting, and yielding unto this Change; I do beseech you to consider the times, and compare the Prophecies of Scripture, with the present providences; and see if you finde not all things to come to pass, according as it is written; and that these wonderful providences are not without Scripture-authority, and much to be regarded by the people of God. Nor be they the executions of Divine wrath upon either Church or World, by profane hands, who act their own wills and lusts, though they accomplish Gods ends; but they be the pouring out of the wrath of God upon Antichrist, for his destruction, and overthrow of his Kingdom, by the hands of holy Saints; according to the command of Christ; Christ himself riding forth Victoriously among them, and performing his great works, written and foretold in the holy Scriptures. May not *Queen Maries* coming to the Crown by the help of the Saints, be seasonably called to remembrance? or if not, yet now the time is come, to change Governments, and to cast down all at the foot of Christ, that he may Reign, and fill the Earth with the glory of his Government.

No Oaths or Covenants of Gods People are against Christ, but in subordination to him, and to the advancement of his Kingdom. If therefore these great Changes are carried up to that head, that is the true scope and end of those Vows and Promises. It were not Lawful to terminate such a Vow or Covenant, as that is, upon any Per-

son, Family, or Creature; it were Idolatry; nor was it so; nor is it now broken, by breaking all Creatures in pieces, that stood in the way of obtaining the true end thereof, namely, the advancement of the Lord Jesus, and his Kingdom.

I beseech you therefore help forward this work, which Christ hath put into the hands of those whom he hath made eminent, in accomplishing the works of his glorious coming, to set up his Dominion on earth. Be not behind in bringing Christ to the Throne of England! You, you, the holy Watchmen of the Lord, have given God no rest by your uncessant Prayers for bringing about what is now done; follow on therefore to follow the Lord, and, as Antechrist falleth, with whatever else stood in the way of Christ; so now let Christ come in, and help ye forward the setting up of his Kingdom.

I am bold to present this *Scripture-Platform* of Government to publique view, (if advice so carry it) at this season because I do believe it to be a Divine Institution of a Civil Government; and seemeth to me to be such, as will well suit the present condition of *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, or any other religious people in the World, who fear the command of God, and tremble at his word: and being perswaded in my heart that it is the minde of the Lord, that Nations should be governed by Scripture Institutions, the time being come that the Lord is about to shake all the Earth, and throw down that great Idol of Humane Wisdome in Governments, and set up Scripture-Government in the room thereof. It may please God to give acceptance unto this poor beginning, and move the hearts of such as are wise, to prosecute this design of Christ, and more accurately to search the Scriptures, to finde out the perfect will of God in this point, which yet is but in its birth and dawning; many things being yet dim, and dark: in the morning twilight, we cannot see far before us, nor round about us; but the Rising-sun, will through grace, bring greater light with him.

As for such wholesome, just, and wise Laws, as any Nation hath already made, the Wisdome of the Lord will teach his People to refer them to their Scripture-principles, demonstrating the truth and equity thereof, by the Word of

God, whereby they will appear to be the deducts from the Word of God ; and hence they that are governed by them, are governed by the Lord ; they that break them sin against the Lord, by breaking his Commandment and Law.

It were a Work worthy the labours of the best Divines, and the best of Men, to demonstrate the equity of all the wholesome and wise Laws of *England* by the word of God ; the effects of which Work would be of admirable consequence to sanctifie the whole Land, to make the Rulers more expresly to govern for the Lord, and the People to obey the Lord, in obeying their Governours ; and so the Lord himself shall Reign over them.

My continual Prayer in this behalf, at the Throne of Grace is, that the Lord would so far scatter those black Clouds, which do darken the mindes of God's people in *England*, that they may see some Beams of the brightness of *Christ* his coming to reign ; and that the Lord would please to bow their divided hearts, to meet with one consent and accord, to make *Christ* their *Law-Giver*, and *Judge*, and *King*, in whom alone they shall finde settlement and assured peace.

Amen, Amen.

THE
CHRISTIAN COMMONWEALTH:
OR,
THE CIVIL POLITY OF THE RISING KING-
DOM OF JESUS CHRIST.

CHAP. I.

It is the Commandment of the Lord, that a people should enter into Covenant with the Lord to become his people, even in their Civil Society, as well as in their Church-Society (*a*). Whereby they submit themselves to be ruled by the Lord in all things, receiving from him, both the platform of their Government, and all their Laws; which when they do, then Christ reigneth over them in all things, they being ruled by his Will, and by the Word of his Mouth (*b*).

The substance of which Covenant, and subjection of themselves unto the Lord, to be ruled by him in all things, is this. That they do humbly confess their corruption by nature, and lost condition; that they acknowledge the free grace (*c*) of God, in their redemption by Christ, and in the promulgation of the Gospel unto them, and making

(*a*) Dent. 29. 10, 11, 12, 13. You stand this day all of you, before the Lord your God: your Captains of your Tribes, your Elders and your Officers, with all the men of Israel. (11.) Your little ones, your wives, and the stranger that is in thy Camp, &c. (12.) That thou shouldest enter into Covenant with the Lord thy God, and into his oath which he maketh with thee this day, (13.) That he may establish thee to day for a people unto himself, and that he may be to thee a God, as he hath said unto thee, and as he hath sworn unto thy fathers, to Abraham, to Isaac and to Jacob.

(*b*) Isai. 33. 32. The Lord is our Judge, the Lord is our Law-giver, the Lord is our King, he shall save us.

(*c*) Deut. 26. 1. ad 12. I profess this day unto the Lord thy God, that I am come into the Countrey, which the Lord thy God swore unto thy fathers to give us, &c. vers. 5. And thou shalt speak, and say before the Lord thy God, A Syrian ready to perish was my father, and he went down into Egypt, &c. vers. 7. And when we cried unto the Lord, he heard us, &c. ver. 8. And the Lord brought us forth out of Egypt with a mighty hand, &c.

application thereof effectually unto their souls: and therefore the Lord hath shewed his everlasting Love unto them, and caused them inwardly by faith, to give up themselves unto him, to be for ever his, to love, serve, and obey him, in all his Word and Commandments: so now they do outwardly, and solemnly with the rest of Gods people joyn together so to do in their Civil Polity, receiving from the Lord both the platform of their civil Government, as it is set down (in the essentials of it) in the holy Scriptures; and also all their Laws, which they resolve through his grace, to fetch out of the Word of God making that their only Magna Charta; and accounting no Law, Statute or Judgement valid, farther then it appeareth to arise and flow from the Word of God.

Such as with a lively faith enter into or walk in this Covenant, do perform every Act (wherein they are free from temptation) of civil conversation among men (*a*) by faith in obedience unto God. Instructing that all should do so, who take this Covenant; and if they do not, they are guilty of breach of Covenant, before God. A willing subjection of a mans self to Christ in this Covenant, is some hopeful sign of some degree of faith in Christ, and love to God; and as a good preparative for a more neer approach to Christ in Church-fellowship, and Covenant: he that is willing to serve Christ by the Polity of the second Table civilly, is in some degree of preparation to serve him, by the Polity of the first Table Ecclesiastically.

The Child is implicitly comprehended in the Fathers covenant (*b*), the Wife is explicitly comprehended in her Husbands, insomuch that in her Widowhood she and her Family are one, under the order of the Government of God.

The particular form of Government, which is approved of God (*c*), instituted by Moses (*d*) among the sons of Israel, (and profitable to be received by any Nation or People,

(*a*) 1 Cor. 10. 31. Whether ye eat or drink, or whatsoever ye do, do all to the glory of God.

(*b*) Deut. 29. 14, 15. Neither with you onely do I make this Covenant this day, but with him that standeth here this day before the Lord our God, and with him that is not here with us this day.

(*c*) Exod. 18. 23. If thou shalt do this thing, and God command thee so.

(*d*) Exod. 18. 24. Moses hearkened, and did all.

who reverence the command of God, and tremble at his Word) is this ; that they chuse (*a*) unto themselves Rulers of thousands (*b*), of hundreds, of fifties, and of tens, who shall govern according to the pure, holy, righteous, perfect and good Law of God (*c*), written in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament.

The forming of which Platforme of Government, deduced from the Scriptures, is as followeth.

CHAP. II.

THE several degrees of tens, fifties, hundreds, and thousands may fitly be called orders of men, governed by God, the God of order (*d*).

Which orders of men are $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 1. \text{ Those of the single Platforme.} \\ 2. \text{ Those of the Superior arising upon the first.} \end{array} \right.$

First for the single-Platform, which is Gods Standard, according to which the Superior is delineated, or measured out. God hath commanded that ten men should chuse unto them a Ruler of ten.

Hence, if they be not ten, they cannot chuse unto them a Ruler of ten. Hence also the Ruler maketh the eleventh man ; or rather, is the head (*e*) of the order of ten.

Hence also one Ruler of ten, may Rule over nineteen men ; but if they become twenty, then by Gods institution, they must chuse another Ruler of ten ; for God hath said, Chuse you Rulers of tens.

Servants, or Sons living with their Parents, as in the condition of Servants (*f*), they may not explicite, politi-

(*a*) 18. 21. Thou shalt provide able men. With Deut. 1. 13. Take ye wise men, and I will make them Rulers.

(*b*) Exod. 18. 25. Deut. 1. 15.

(*c*) Deut. 1. 17. Fear not the face of man, for the judgement is Gods. 2 Chro. 19. 6. And said to the Judges, Take heed what ye do : for ye judge not for man, but for the Lord, who is with you in the Judgement : Ezek. 44. 24. They shall judge it according to my judgement.

(*d*) Isa. 9. 7. Of the increase of his Government and peace there shall be no end, upon the throne of David, and upon his Kingdom, to order it.

(*e*) Exod. 18. 25. Make them heads over the people, Rulers of tens, &c.

(*f*) Gal. 4. 1. The heir so long as he is a child, differeth nothing from a servant.

cally, personally, chuse publick Rulers; while they live under the Authority of Family-government, they are not personally capable of interest in publick Political Elections: it is enough to attain Gods ends, that they be virtually comprehended in their Fathers Covenant.

But if they Marry, or live in the State of allowed publick Free-men, then are they capable of, & are bound personally to act, in the choice of their publick Rulers. The Rulers of the Father are virtually Rulers of the Child; but when the child putteth forth an act of choice, he hath liberty to chuse, in due order, another Ruler of ten, unto whom he doth personally submit himself: for all men are commanded to chuse unto themselves rulers.

By that one act of chusing his Ruler of ten, and subjecting himself unto him, he doth chuse, and subject himself unto all the Superior orders, under whom his ruler of ten is ruled.

No man may lawfully, or without sin, live out of the order of Gods Government: and should any man refuse to chuse and subject himself unto the same, he cannot justly challenge any priviledge, benefit, or protection thereby, though his virtual interest (in such as have it) hath hold upon him, until his actual choice doth more expresly engage him; and Love will improve every thing for the good of those, who know not what is good for themselves. He is beneath the condition of a stranger, who shall Apostatize from the Government of the Lord; yea, beneath the condition of Barbarians, who are not yet come in, either by themselves, or their Progenitors.

As the Ruler of ten may rule over more then ten, even any number under twenty; so it is with the other orders, one Ruler of fifty, may rule over nine orders of ten; but if they become ten, then they must chuse another Ruler of fifty; for the Lord hath said, Chuse you Rulers of fifties; that is, every five orders of ten shall chuse a Ruler of fifty.

Again, one Ruler of an hundred, may rule over three orders of fifties; but if they become four orders of fifties, then two of them must chuse another Ruler: for God hath said, Chuse Rulers of hundreds; that is, of ten orders of tens.

Again, one Ruler of a thousand, may rule over nineteen

orders of an hundred ; but if they become twenty orders, then they must by Gods institution chuse another Ruler of a thousand : for the Lord hath said, Chuse you Rulers of thousands.

Hence one Ruler of a thousand may, in case all the orders under him be at the fullest, rule over 8436. men ; which ordinarily, amounted to 33687 souls ; which doth thus appear.

One Ruler of ten may rule over nineteen men.

One Ruler of fifty may rule over nine orders of ten ; and nine times nineteen, maketh one hundred seventy one.

One Ruler of an hundred, may rule over three orders of fifty ; and thrice 171 maketh 413.

One Ruler of a thousand, may rule over nineteen orders of an hundred ; and nineteen times 413, maketh 7847.

Add therefore to the people, their Rulers, thus :

One Ruler of 50. with his nine Rulers of ten, make ten Rulers.

One Ruler of an 100. may rule over three orders of 50. which maketh 30 Rulers.

One Ruler of a thousand, may have under him nineteen Rulers of an hundred. So that 19. times 30. and 19. added to them, makes

Add to them 589 Rulers

7847 People

Summa totalis is 8436

And generally among mankind, for one head of a family, there be at least three more souls of women and children ; so that four times 8436. amounteth to 33687. soules. But it will be rare for all orders to be full at once.

Again, these orders of men, may be multiplied thus ; when such as are Supernumerary in several orders, agree together to make another order. For example, if two Rulers of ten, have each of them fifteen men under them, then five men of one order, and five of the other order, may agree together to make another, a new order : and so in all other orders it may be.

But if they do this, if they make a new order because they desire it, and not because the Word of the Lord com-

mandeth it; when they multiply orders by choice, and not by necessity of institution: then their next Superiors shall guide and direct them in peace and mutual love: for Moses guided the people in all their Elections (*a*).

If they cannot agree, then they may appeal to their next Superiours, and so unto the highest (*b*) Council, if need be: For the Council is (in ordinary dispensation) in Moses stead; and the Scriptures are the Mouth of God, at which they must enquire, and by the guidance thereof determine of all Cases, so far as the Lord giveth light; and until the mind of God be known, the Case must stay, whatever it be (*c*).

CHAP. III.

THE Lord hath given this Commandment in the ordering of his Government, that judgment should be executed speedily (*d*); and also that it should be managed with the greatest respect to the ease, both of the Governours and People (*e*).

But particular times means and other circumstances, the Lord hath not particularly commanded (*f*). Hence it is left unto the wisdom of the Rulers, to order time, means and other circumstances, for the best, and most effectual attainment of the forementioned speedy and easie determination and execution of Judgement, in all Cases whatsoever, and in all places, Cities, or Towns where the people dwell (*g*).

(*a*) Exod. 18. 21, 25. Thou shalt provide able men. 25. Moses chose able men. Deut. 1. 15. So I took the chief of your tribes.

(*b*) Deut. 1. 17. The case that is too hard for you, bring it unto me.

(*c*) Num. 15. 34. And they put him in ward, because it was not declared what should be done unto him. Numb. 9. 8. Stand still, and I will hear what the Lord will command concerning you.

(*d*) Ezra 7. 26. Let judgment be executed speedily upon them. Eccles. 8. 11. Because sentence against an evil work is not executed speedily, therefore the heart of the sons of men, is fully set in them to do evil.

(*e*) Exod. 18. 17, 18, 22, 23. This thing is not good; thou wilt surely wear away, both thou and this people that is with thee: ver. 22. So shall it be easier: ver. 13. Thou shalt be able to endure, and all the people shall go to their place in peace, viz. having judgement among themselves in their own quarters, and places of abode, and not be troubled to come to the chief Court, with every cause.

(*f*) Exod. 18. 22. Let them judge the people at all seasons.

(*g*) Exod. 22. 23. All the people shall go to their own place in peace.

Hence again, it well accordeth with Gods institution, that every order do co-habit together (*a*) as neer as may be ; because that doth tend to facilitate both the watch, and work of the Lords Government.

Hence also limits of Place (*b*) (in a general observation with allowance to some particular exceptions, as prudence and piety may require) may be useful to attain this end.

Hence again, if any shall remove his habitation to a more remote place ; meet it is that he do change his Rulers, by chusing a Ruler of ten in the place whither he goeth to dwell : and hence it is meet that such removings and changes be made by a due approbation of the Rulers whence he goeth, and with the acceptance of those to whom he removeth, lest by such unstable changes, as some may affect, they may slip out from under the Government of the Lord, at least from under the watch and use thereof, though from the right thereof they cannot, because it is a general command to honour thy Father and thy Mother ; and lest by the confluence of unruly persons to a place more remisly governed, the Government of the Lord should be undermined, and scandalized.

Because sin will grow apace, like ill weeds, if it be not always watched, and often weeded out ; and fire of strife will soon flame out, if it be not speedily suppressed and quenched : and it edifieth many ways, that justice should be speedily done ; especially it promoteth peace and piety.

Hence it is meet, that Rulers of ten appoint one day in a week, solemnly to hear and determine Causes, and guide the common Affairs of his ten, for the more orderly, easie, and speedie proceeding of justice and peace, which are facilitated and expedited, by a stated and appointed time (*c*).

Again, it is meet that the Ruler of fifty keep the Court of six, consisting of five Rulers of ten, and himself the Ruler of them, once in a moneth, for the more solemn pro-

(*a*) Deut. 1. 15. I took the chief of your Tribes, and made them heads over you.

(*b*) Deut. 21. 2, 3. Thy Elders and Judges shall measure unto the Cities about, and the City which is next unto the slain man. Deut. 16. 18. Judges shalt thou make in all thy gates throughout thy Tribes.

(*c*) Exod. 18. 26. They judged the people at all seasons : *וְנִי* doth frequently in Scripture signifie a stated time.

ceeding of Justice, & Appeals, if need be: because the higher Cases ascend, the more solemnity is in them (*a*); and need the more time and deliberation.

I call these a Court, because they are an Assembly of Judges, among whom God promiseth to stand (*b*). Six is the lowest number of this Court; but they may be more, according as the orders of ten be more under a Ruler of fifty: but they cannot exceed ten; because a Ruler of fifty cannot by Gods institution, have more than nine orders of ten under him.

Again, it is meet that the Ruler of an hundred keep the Court of three, consisting of two Rulers of fifty, and himself the Ruler of them, four times in the year, upon the former grounds.

Three is the lowest number of this Court, and it cannot exceed four; because by Gods institution, he cannot have more than three orders of fifty under him.

Again, it is meet that the Ruler of a thousand keep the Court of eleven, consisting of ten Rulers of an hundred, and himself the Ruler of them, twice in a year; and here judgement runneth with greatest Solemnity and Majesty; I say Greatest, in the single platform.

Eleven is the lowest number of this Court; but there may be more, according as the orders of an hundred under him be multiplied; but they cannot exceed twenty, because he cannot have above nineteen orders of an hundred under him.

It is necessary that every Court have such Officers (*c*) to attend, as are necessary to accomplish and execute those ends for which the Lord hath instituted those Courts: because the appointment of the end, doth command all means requisite for the attainment of that end, being such as accords with Justice and Prudence.

Vide Ainsworth in Loc.

It is also necessary to have persons (*d*), and all other Instruments, for the inflicting of all kindes of Punishments, which the Law of God appointeth.

(*a*) Exod. 15. 22. Every great matter they shall bring unto thee.

(*b*) Psal. 82. 1.

(*c*) Deut. 16. 13. Judges and Officers shalt thou make.

(*d*) Lev. 24. 12. Num. 15. 34. They put him in ward.

But touching the several Punishments of Cost, Shame, or Smart; and touching the several ways of Putting to Death, by Stoning, Burning, Strangling, or by the Sword; as also touching Banishment, I am here silent. They more properly appearing in the handling of such Laws which do inflict several punishments, according to the demerit of the Sin, or use of terrour unto others, proportioning them to the Standard in the holy Scriptures.

CHAP. IV.

UPON the forenamed grounds of speedy Justice, for the establishing of firme peace, all Causes bewixt man and man, pertaining to the Cognizance of the Ruler of ten, must be put upon Suit or Tryal, within the space of one moneth (*a*). Cases belonging to the Court of six, must be put upon Suit or Tryal within the space of three moneths. Causes belonging to the Court of three, must be put upon Suit or Tryal, within the space of nine moneths. Causes belonging to the Court of Eleven, must be put upon Suit or Tryal, in the space of one year and half; or else to be frustrate, and lose the priviledge of receiving judgement by man; unless it appear that the providence of God did hinder, or that the Defendant or Delinquent party did disappoint it: in those cases it may be admitted to Tryal, and receive Judgement, though it be of a longer standing.

But Criminal Offences are to be judged, at the time when, and in the place where they be discovered, and that with the most speed that may be.

Such Cases as are difficult, weighty, and worthy such attendance, and cannot attain an acceptable issue in the Court where they firstly appertain, may ascend from Court to Court, either by Appeal, or by Transmission to the Court of eleven. And whatsoever Cause of weight cannot receive issue there, may yet ascend either by Appeal or Transmission to the highest Council (*b*), where

(*a*) Lev. 19. 17. Thou shalt not suffer sin upon him.

(*b*) Exod. 18. 22. Great matters they shall bring to thee. 26. Hard matters they brought to Moses. Deut. 17. 8. 9. If there arise a matter too hard for thee, &c, thou shalt come to the Priests, Levites and Judges that shall be in those days.

by Gods appointment it must receive final determination (a).

In lesser Commonwealths, where there be no Rulers or Courts of the Superiour order, Cases ascend to the highest Council from the Court of eleven: but where there be Rulers and Courts of the Superiour order, there the Cause must ascend from the Court of eleven in the single Platform, to the Court of one Myriade, or the lowest Court in the Superiour order; and so proceed until it come to the Supreme Council.

Every Appeal in this Platform of Government which the Lord hath instituted, doth ascend to an higher Court, and to other Judges. There is one of the Judges from whom he appealeth, a member of the Court to whom he doth appeal, truly to inform the Court of the Reasons of their Judgement: and but one, lest they should sway overmuch, and the Appealant want the priviledge of new and unprejudices Judges.

Whosoever shall trouble the free passage of Justice in the ending of Causes, through a perverse will, or base ends, or captious and quarrelsome wit, besides the charges of such agitations, he is worthy of some other medicine, as may most effectually do him good, and warn others.

In all Courts, he that hath power to call the Court, hath a double Vote: as for example, in the Court of Three, if the Ruler of an hundred differ from the two Rulers of fifty, the Court is equally divided: if there be three Rulers of fifty, and one of them concur with the Ruler of an hundred, their sentence standeth.

When the Court is equally divided, it is a difficult Case, and must ascend to the Court next above them by Transmission; or if the lesser part of the Court oppose the sentence of the Court, as judging it sinful, then it must ascend by Transmission.

If a Judge of any Court shall oppose the rest in point of sin, without weighty and considerable grounds, in the judgement of the Court whither it ascends or is transmitted; his first offence shall be corrected with the charge of such transmission, and admonition from the higher Court: after, offences in like kind are to be considered

(a) And thou shalt do according to the Sentence, &c. Deut. 17. 10.

and judged, by proportion to the process of Christ in the Church, even unto rejection from his Place and Office.

The highest Council is to consist of a convenient number of the most holy and able men (*a*) orderly chosen for that purpose, by all the orders of (*b*) men under their jurisdiction, every man in order having an equal voice therein, from among all the Elders of the people: both in the Commonwealth, and in the Churches (*c*), the biggest number being civil Elders (*d*).

The Lord commanded Moses that seventy Elders should stand with him before the Lord; hence there were seventy one of the Council, and Moses was the chief, and ordained the rest.

According to which patern, the people are to chuse their chief Ruler first: who being installed by some, instead of the whole people, must instal the rest, and is Chief Ruler of the Supreme Council, who must call and manage their Assemblies.

As the overburdensomness of the work of Government by one man, was the ground of the institution of the forenamed orders of Government: so the overburdensomness of the work for one man to hear all hard Cases, and Appeals, together with other Cares to provide for the welfare of the people, was the ground of the institution of the Supreme Council (*e*).

(*a*) Num. 11. 16. Whom thou knowest, to be Elders of the people. With Exod. 18. 21. Able men, such as fear God, men of truth, hating covetousness.

(*b*) Deut. 1. 13. Take ye wise men.

(*c*) Deut. 17. 9. And thou shalt come to the Priests, Levites, and Judges that shall be in those days and enquire, and they shall shew thee, &c. 2 Chro. 19. 8. Moreover, in Jerusalem did Jehosaphat set of the Levites, and of the Priests, and of the chief of the fathers in Israel, for the Judgement of the Lord, and for controversie. Deut. 21. 2. Then thy Elders and Judges shall come forth, and shall measure, &c. ver. 5. And the Priests the sons of Levi shall come neer, and by their word shall every stroke and every controversie be tryed. Deut. 19. 17. Both the men between whom the controversie is, shall stand before the Lord, before the Priests and Judges. Ezek. 44. 24. And in controversie they shall stand in judgement, and they shall judge it according to my judgement.

(*d*) Numb. 11. 16. Gather to me seventy men of the Elders of Israel. Vide Ainsw. in Loc. Hence the Hebrews gather, that they were chose out of all the Tribes, and therefore there was not less than five of a Tribe, and so many of Levi, who before the institution of the Sanhedrium, were taken of God instead of the first born, to be Priests unto God: for they were taken to be Priests at Sinai, Numb. 3. 14. And this institution was at Kibroth-hattaavah, Numb. 11. 34. with Numb. 31. 15. 16. 17.

(*e*) Deut. 1. 9. I spake to you, and said, I am not able to bear you alone. Numb. 11. 11. ad 16. ver. 11. And Moses said unto the Lord. Wherefore hast thou afflicted thy servant, and wherefore have I not found favour in thy sight, that thou layest the burden of all this people upon me? ver. 14. I am not able to bear all the people alone, because it is too heavy for me.

The conveniency of the number of this high Council, is thus to be measured, and judged by Gods Standard. Israel had at least three Millions of people, (though not one Million of men in order, or not much more: for the Souldiers were but six hundred thousand) now their Supreme Council consisted of seventy one; therefore that is the highest number that will be needed among men ordinarily; yea, though a people should be much bigger, I see not but that number may suffice: But that number is not limited; because God denyeth not this Government to fifty who are the least Court, and a lesser number of men then the highest Council in Israel had, by Gods appointment; and if it be not limited on the one side, so nor on the other.

Again, the lowest number of the Supreme Council that may be, is five; because that Council must consist both of Magistrates, and Elders of Churches; Elders of both sorts, one of a sort sufficeth not, and the bigger part must be Magistrates.

This Council must alwaies be in being, personally or virtually, to give answer to all Cases propounded, touching the Law of God, and the application thereof, to any particular Person or Cause, and to take care for the general Protection, Provision, and Government of the whole, in truth, holiness, and peace.

CHAP. V.

THE duties of all the Rulers of the civil part of the Kingdom of Christ, are as followeth.

The Office and Duty of all the Rulers, is to govern the people in the orderly and seasonable practice of all the Commanders of God, in actions liable to Political observation, whether of piety and love to God, or of justice, and love to man with peace.

Hence they are keepers of both Tables, and are so to look that all the Commandments of God be observed, as to compel men to their undoubted duty, and punish them for their undoubted sins, errors and transgressions.

A case, a Duty, a Sin, is said then to be undoubted, when either it is expressly, or by general approved consequence, commanded or forbidden in the Scriptures; or when it hath passed the circuit of Gods Polity, and received its final determination according to the Scriptures; unto which not to submit, is capital presumption.

Hence again, Rulers are eminently concerned to maintain the purity of Religion, with all care and power; holiness, truth, and peace being much concerned herein.

Hence again, all Rulers must be skilful in the Scriptures; they must read and meditate in the same all the daies of their life, that thereby they may be enabled to do their Office faithfully, and religiously so long as they live.

Hence again, they are to give counsel and command for the well ordering of all the Publick Affairs of their people; both in Education of Youth, whether in Schools or other Occupations; in walking in their Callings, in their Neighbourhood, commerce and converse with men, in subjecting themselves to Government, with Religion, Justice and Peace.

CHAP. VI.

THE Office of the Ruler of ten, is to see all his people walk as becometh Gods people in their several places, furthering the same upon all occasions. And at appointed times to sit alone to hear and determine Causes of Justice, and of evil conversation; to declare Gods sentence and counsel in every Case, and see it executed.

Provided it be with the consent and submission of the party or parties concerned.

All difficult Cases, and Appeals, he shall binde over to the Court of six; and Capitals in life, limb or banishment, to the Court of eleven.

These Rulers are next the people; hence they see them *most: and therefore they need be singularly wise, patient, loving, faithful, and zealously holy men. So great is his work and charge, that it had need extend but to a

* Each other.

small compass. If he well perform his Office, it doth prevent much trouble to Superiour Courts.

The Office of the Ruler of fifty, is to see that all the Rulers of ten under him, be faithful in their Office and Duty; and to help on their work, in all Cases, and toward all persons, as he hath occasion.

As also to call and keep the Court of six in their seasons; where all Cases, pertaining to the publick good of all his order, and particular Cases betwixt parties of the several of the orders of ten under him, are nextly to be tryed and determined, together with Appeals from any of the Rulers of ten under him; and difficult Cases transmitted from them to this Court.

This Court hath power to end strifes, judge Causes, declare and pronounce the sentence of Gods Word, in mulcts, and punishments, and see them executed. Difficult Cases they shall transmit; and also Appeals they shall bind over, unto the Court of three. But capitals in life, limb or banishment, to the Court of eleven.

The Office of the Ruler of an hundred, is to see that the Rulers of fifty under him, do perform their Office and Duty faithfully; to help them what lieth in him, in any of their works towards their Rulers of ten, or any particular person under him. Also all Causes which concern the Publick good of all Orders under him, are in his charge. And also to call and keep the Court of three, where Causes betwixt parties of his several orders of fifty, are properly to be tryed and determined; with Appeals from the Court of six, and such difficult Cases as that Court shall transmit to them.

This Court hath power to end all strifes, judge and determine Causes, declare and pronounce the sentence of Gods Word, in mulcts and punishments, and see them executed. Also to take care of the Publick good of all their Orders. Appeals, difficult Cases, and capitals in life and limb, and banishment, they shall bind over and transmit to the Court of eleven.

The Office of the Ruler of a thousand, is to see that all the Rulers of hundreds under him, do perform their Office and duty faithfully; to help them what lieth in him in any part of their charge toward their Rulers of fifties,

or Rulers of ten, or any person under him ; also all Cases which concern the Publick good of all the orders under him, are in his care and charge. As also to call and keep the Court of eleven, where all Causes betwixt persons in several of his Hundreds, are properly belonging ; with Appeals from the Court of three, and difficult Cases transmitted to them. Also all Cases which concern the Publick good of all the Orders under them.

Also all Capital Cases of life, limb, or banishment, belong this Court : because it is the highest and most solemn Judicatory in the single Platform, and fullest of Majesty. The highest punishment is fitly pronounced, in a more solemn Judicatory, then is the Court of six, or three ; unless the smalness or paucity of the people have no higher.

Also Cases betwixt parties of several thousands belong to this Court : at the choice of the Plaintiff in which Court of Eleven, either that which himself doth belong to, or that which his Adversary is under. But this consideration doth belong to lesser Commonwealths, where they have no Governour of the Superiour order, and yet more then one Ruler of a thousand.

This Court hath power to hear and judge all Causes brought before them ; declare and pronounce the sentence of Scripture, in all mulcts and punishments, even death itself, and see them executed.

Also to pronounce, and see executed, all such sentences as the Supreme Council doth determine, and remit unto them. Namely, thus it is in lesser Commonwealths, where there be no Courts of the Superiour order, difficult Cases they must transmit to the highest Council, and bind over Appeals unto them, where there be no Courts of the Superiour order, betwixt the Supreme Council and them.

The Office of the Supreme Council, is to see that all the Rulers of thousands, yea, all Rulers and Officers, of all orders and degrees, do their Office and Duty faithfully ; and to receive difficult Cases and Appeals, from the Court of eleven ; to search the Scriptures with all faithfulness, to find out the pure mind of God, impartially and sincerely to apply the Cause propounded thereunto ; to declare the will of God in the Case, and so return it to the Court of eleven, whereto it appertaineth, there to receive judge-

ment accordingly. And whosoever will do presumptuously, and not hearken unto that sentence, shall be put to death, Deut. 17. 11. 12.

In the single Platform, the Court of eleven is next to the Supreme Council, for transmission and remission of Causes; but where there be Courts of the Superiour order, it is not so.

Also they are to declare the Counsel and Will of God, touching War and Peace, and accordingly transmit the work to such of the Rulers as they judge most meet to accomplish the same.

Also to take care for, and provide means for Publick welfare and subsistence, by Trading, both Foraign and Domestick, Fishing, Tillage, &c. with all other necessary and useful occupation.

Especially they are to take care for peace and truth in Religion, in all the Churches, and among all the people; and the propagation also thereof. As also the furtherance of all good learning in all the Liberal Arts and Sciences.

The Supreme Council, and all Courts, yea, and all Rulers, have power to bind Offenders, and Persons concerned, to appear, or prosecute in due order and season; punish for offences in that kind; and if need be, commit to prison for security.

If Rulers offend either morally or politically, by rigor, partiality or remisness, his or their next Superiours have power to correct such evils, according to the Word of God; and as need may be, the Case may orderly ascend, from Court to Court, even to the highest Council. Heresie Blasphemy, and other Gross (especially if capital) sins, are just cause, in due order, of deposition from his office, by the Supreme Council; the cause coming to them either by orderly ascent, or taken in immediately, as a notorious scandal, which calleth for speedy remedy.

CHAP. VII.

So much for the single Platform of Christ his Government: now followeth the Superiour, arising out of the first.

When the Lord shall bow the hearts of great Nations, to embrace this form of Government, there being populous Cities, Provinces, and Countries, where the Rulers of thousands will be greatly multiplied, and Causes frequently fall out, betwixt parties of several thousands; yea, and betwixt the Rulers of thousands sometimes, being so numerous, insomuch that the Supreme Council will be overburdened, even as Moses was.

Hence there will be a necessity of erecting the Superiour platform of the Lords Government: which by proportion unto the single Platforme (which is more fully exprest in Scripture) doth arise from it, and is builded upon it.

Namely, that every ten orders of thousands, should chuse a Ruler of ten thousand, or a Myriade; and five orders of Myriades, a ruler of fifty thousand, or five Myriades; and two orders of five Myriades should chuse a Ruler of an hundred thousand, or ten Myriades: and ten orders of an hundred thousands, or ten Myriades, should chuse a Ruler of a thousand thousand, or an hundred Myriades, or a Million.

I am led to believe, that this Superiour order of Rulers, is a Divine institution, not only by cosequence of proportion to the single Platform; but expresly, and that it was practised by Moses in Israel: namely, that ten Rulers of thousands had a Ruler over them of ten thousands, or of a Myriade; and that the order of Myriades or ten thousands, were as duly & orderly observed, as the orders of thousands were. For Numb. 10. 36. when they rested from their marching, Moses blessed them, and said, Return O Lord, to the Myriades of the thousands of Israel: therefore there were orders of Myriades, as well as of thousands.

Furthermore, it is expresly said, by Moses in his song, Deut. 33. 2. The Lord came from Sinai (namely, where the order of Government was first instituted) and he came with myriades of Saints. Therefore orders of Myriades

were instituted and acted from the first foundation of this Government.

Likewise, Deut. 33. 17. he speaketh of the orders of Myriades among the Tribes, as familiarly observable, as the orders of thousands. So that we may see this Superiour order and platform of Government, observed in Israel, and expressed in the holy Scriptures.

The Ruler of a Myriade hath this eminency, above a Ruler of ten in the single Platform, that all his ten whom he immediately ruleth, are eminent Rulers.

Hence they are an Assembly of Judges, and a Court, for number every way proportionable to the Court of eleven: but for eminency and distinction they are more properly called the Court of one Myriade.

The Ruler of fifty thousand or five Myriades holdeth a Court for number proportionable to the Court of six in the single Platform: but for eminency and distinction, they are more properly called the Court of five Myriades.

The Ruler of an hundred thousand, or ten Myriades, holdeth a Court for number proportionable to the Court of three in the single Platform: but for eminency and distinction, it is more properly called the Court of ten Myriades.

The Ruler of a thousand thousand, or an hundred Myriades, holdeth a Court for number proportionable to the Court of eleven; but for eminency and distinction, it is more properly called the Court of one hundred Myriades.

The times or seasons, Officers or other means for the most effectual ordering of these Courts, will be most fitly discerned, and agreed, by such a people as may have use of them.

The Causes which most properly belong to the Court of one Myriade, are such as fall out betwixt parties of their several thousands; as also difficult Cases transmitted from the Court of eleven, and Appeals from them.

Also all such Cases as concern the Publick good of all under them.

All Courts of the Superiour order have power to judge all capital Cases whatsoever.

The Court of one Myriade hath also power to judge any Cause betwixt the Rulers of the thousands of that

Myriade, who are not to judge in the Court when their own Case is judged. Difficult Cases they transmit, and appeals they bind over to the Court of five Myriades, if there be such a Court betwixt them and the Supreme Council: otherwise they transmit them to the Council.

The Causes which properly belong to the Court of five Myriades, are such as fall out betwixt parties of the several Myriades under them.

I will ascend no higher, in describing the Courts of the Superiour order: partly because Gods Method is plain, and also it will be rarely of use in any Commonwealth; especially considering that which I farther propound.

Namely, seeing God himself was pleased to appoint a Prince, a chief Ruler, over every Tribe in Israel, who were distinguished, by that civil distinction of Kindreds.

By proportion thereunto, in populous Nations, where there be other civil distinctions of societies and cohabitations of men, viz. by Cities, Provinces, Countries, &c. should not they chuse a Prince, a chief Ruler of those several Precincts of civil society?

Whose Office is chiefly to take care of the good Government, firstly, of all the Superiour Rulers under him: as also of all the rest, as he hath opportunity, that the Lord may rule among them.

Likewise to hold a Court, consisting either of the Rulers of Myriades, or of five Myriades, or of ten Myriades, or of an hundred Myriades according to the greatness of the people in his Precincts.

This Court to be called the Court of the Prince, or Lord, or Chief Ruler of such a Precinct; and to be next unto the Supreme Council: from which Court, onely difficult Cases and Appeals have access to the Supreme Council, and to which they remit the determinations of the Cause, to receive its judgement: Lest the Supreme Council be oppressed with business from so many Courts, and thereby the people with delays of hearing and issue, occasioned thereby.

It seemeth to be right Orders, and according to Gods institution, that these Princes of the several Tribes or

Societies of men should be members of the Supreme Council: The whole Dominion being distributed unto the Supreme Counsellours, or to so many of them as may be meet. For the Princes of the Tribes of Israel (it seemeth to me) were members of the Sanhedrim or Supreme Council; because God commanded that they should be chosen very carefully from among the Elders of the people. Hence they will chuse the most choice of their Elders to send up with Moses to stand before God. Now they could not chuse better, fitter, and men more acceptable to God, out of all their Elders, then those whom God himself had chosen by name, to be Princes of the Tribes.

Besides, it is exceedingly harmonious, in the frame of this Government, that it should be so: for though whoever of the other Elders, whether of the single or Superiour Order, be chosen to the Supreme Council, it may seem requisite, they should leave the lower station, lest when Appeals have passed in the circuit of Gods Government, and come to the highest Council, there should be sundry of them, through whose judgement the Cause had formerly passed, which may prove prejudicial both to their persons, and to the Cause.

But when it hath lastly passed through the Court of the Prince of the Tribe, meet it is that one of the last Court through which it passed, should be present in the Supreme Council, to give true information, how they lastly after all former Tryals did find the Cause.

But this is to be observed in the distribution of the whole Dominion to the several Supreme Counsellors, that no such civil Dominion is to be put upon or accepted by such Elders of Churches, as are Members of the high Council; as being such whose only Office and Work is to search the holy Scriptures, and give all attendance to declare the Divine Oracle of God in such Cases as are in hand, of what nature soever they be: yea, and if the Council see need, to call Ecclesiastical Councils, greater or lesser, to search out the mind of Christ; for his presence and blessing is in every Ordinance; and all joyntly conspire the advancement of his Kingdom, and the doing of his will.

The Election of all Superior Rulers, is to be after the

same manner as in the single form, viz, by all the people,* over whom they are to rule.

Some of the Princes of the Tribes of Israel, may seem to be Rulers of fifty thousands, or of fives Orders of Myriades: yet the Office of the Princes was not onely under that notion, but also as an head of a civil society, a kindred, an eminent part, a division of the Commonwealth: for some of the Tribes had but four Myriades, and some but three, and therefore could not in that way and order have a Ruler of five Myriades. Therefore they must needs be instituted under another consideration, viz, as being the head or chief Ruler over an eminent part, or division of the Commonwealth, being civilly divided into such societies.

CHAP. VIII.

So much for the Platform of the Lords Government. Now it remains to consider of the Laws by which these Rulers are to Govern the Lords people. The written Word of God is the perfect Systeme or Frame of Laws, to guide all the Moral actions of man, either towards God or man: the Application whereof to every Case according to its circumstances, must be by the wisdom and discretion of the Judges, guided by the light of the Scriptures, and a pure Conscience.

The judgement and determination of a Cause, is nothing else, but the particular application of the Cause, according to all its circumstances, unto the Rule and Standard of Gods Word.

The Records of which judgements, are equivalent to Humane Laws. Which so far as the Case with all its circumstances considered is rightly applyed to the Rule of the Word, is a deduct, from Scripture, and bindeth the Consciences, both of Judges alway so to judge in the like case, and the people so to walk.

Which Records to order wisely, and publish for common

* Or orders of men.

instruction and edification, is a work of great wisdom, and tendeth much to Gods glory, the good of the people, and the facilitating and expediting justice, among them. All Strangers, are to be accounted under the Government of those Orders where they reside, and where their business lieth ; so as to have the benefit of the Government of the Lord, as our own people have.

FINIS.

A DISCOURSE

PRONOUNCED BEFORE THE SOCIETY, OCTOBER 31, 1841; ON THE COMPLETION OF FIFTY YEARS FROM ITS INCORPORATION.

BY JOHN G. PALFREY.

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY:

THE completion of a half century since your association was incorporated has appeared to you a fit occasion for looking back to its origin and surveying its labors, and you have been pleased to direct me, as one of the least busy of your number, to put together some such account of its designs and its proceedings as the short time allowed by your arrangements would permit. I undertake the task with great diffidence of my ability to do it any justice, but with a promptness which not to show would be to prove myself a very unworthy member of your industrious brotherhood.

Our society takes its date from the year 1790. The generation immediately preceding that then upon the stage had had occasion to expend its energies in toils far different from those of science. The close of the Seven Years' War, in which the New England colonies, especially Massachusetts, had borne so onerous a part, was scarcely followed by a short breathing space before the contest of the Revolution began. Eight years of anxious struggle for independence, and six years more of exhaustion and disorder before a government was organized under the Federal Constitution, afforded little encouragement to pursuits requiring quiet and leisure for their votaries, and a settled state of the public mind for their due appreciation and patronage. Two learned societies, the American Philosophical Society, founded in 1769, and the American

Academy, in 1780, were of earlier origin; but the multiplication of such institutions was not to be looked for till more tranquil times, and especially attention was more likely to be turned to the sources of the history of the country, from the period when it had vindicated an independent nationality, and had won a place for its history by the side of that of the other families of man.

The original idea of this society has been attributed to our late estimable fellow-laborer, Mr. Thomas Wallcut. It appears, however, to be a more probable account which ascribes the first movement to Dr. Belknap and Judge Minot.* Dr. Belknap had removed from Dover, New Hampshire, to Boston three years before. In the preparation of his "History of New Hampshire," of which the first volume was published in 1784, he had been made to feel the want of access to some full repository of materials for recovering the story of our early times. Judge Minot, who, by his "History of the Insurrections in Massachusetts," had manifested and cultivated his ability and taste for this department of study, — Judge Sullivan, then preparing for his "History of Maine," — and Dr. John Eliot, who had been long laboring on the collections finally incorporated into his "Biographical Dictionary," — had experienced the same need of a more sufficient apparatus. Mr. James Winthrop, of Cambridge, and Dr. Peter Thacher, of Boston, had an inclination for such pursuits, and were in possession of original historical materials, thought to be of value. Mr. Wallcut, with a genuine antiquarian φιλοπονία, had been in the habit of transcribing important ancient papers, to place them beyond the reach of accident. These gentlemen, with Dr. James Freeman and Judge Tudor, of Boston, and the Honorable William Baylies, of Dighton, men

* These statements are printed as they were delivered. A friend has since called my attention to an obituary notice of Dr. Belknap, published in the *Columbian Centinel* for June 25, 1793, and understood to be from the pen of Dr. John Eliot, who could not have failed to be well informed upon the point in question. The following is an extract: — "The Historical Society have lost their most laborious and diligent member, and the founder of their institution. . . . He frequently met with disappointment from the loss of valuable papers, and he often mentioned to his friends in New Hampshire and Boston, that it was necessary to preserve them by multiplying copies, and making it the principal duty and interest of an association to collect them, and to study their value. The proposals of Dr. Belknap met with the approbation and encouragement of several gentlemen in this town and its environs, and the society was incorporated in 1794."

of a kindred love of antiquity and truth, were the first associates. At a meeting, at which they all were present, except Judge Minot and Mr. Baylies, our society was organized on the 24th day of January, 1791; some preliminary arrangements having been made, at an interview some weeks before, between Drs. Belknap, Thacher, and Eliot, and Judges Tudor and Winthrop. Judge Sullivan was chosen President; Dr. Belknap, Corresponding Secretary; Mr. Wallcut, Recording Secretary; Judge Tudor, Treasurer; Dr. Eliot, Librarian; and Dr. Thacher, Judge Minot, and Mr. Winthrop, the Standing Committee.

The objects of the society were described in its constitution to be, "the preservation of books, pamphlets, manuscripts, and records, containing historical facts, biographical anecdotes, temporary projects, and beneficial speculations"; and "a collection of observations and descriptions in natural history and topography, together with specimens of natural and artificial curiosities, and a selection of every thing which can improve and promote the historical knowledge of our country, either in a physical or political view." The society was to consist of thirty resident and thirty corresponding members, a number afterwards doubled; * and stated meetings were to be held in each quarter of the year, an arrangement subsequently changed to that of a meeting every month.

The first meetings took place at the houses of Judge Tudor and Judge Sullivan; after a few months, the society obtained the use of an apartment belonging to the Massachusetts Bank, in a building erected for a linen factory, on land now occupied by Hamilton Place; in January, 1794, by the liberality of the projectors of the Tontine Crescent, on the south side of Franklin Street, they were enabled to place their collections, which had now become considerable, in the upper chamber of the centre building of that structure. The society's act of incorporation bears the date of the 19th of the following month. Its

* The members are chosen by ballot, in the form prescribed by the society's vote of August 20, 1815, that, "In balloting for members, and in taking any questions by yeas and nays, the law and custom of our forefathers be adopted, as it stands in the Statute of Elections 1643, *mutatis mutandis*. — 'For the yearly choosing of Assistants, the Freemen shall use Indian Corn and Beans, the Indian Corn to manifest election, and the Beans contrary.'"

sessions continued to be held in that place till the present more convenient accommodations were provided, at the cost of some of its members, and of other public-spirited citizens, in the year 1833.

The original scheme of the society does not appear to have contemplated any thing beyond the collection and preservation of objects and materials of history, for the benefit of posterity, and especially of students and writers in that department. But, before long, wider views of usefulness opened themselves, as they might be expected to do to men of such comprehensive intelligence. In 1792,* several papers which had come into the possession of the society were published on an extra sheet of the "American Apollo," a magazine issued weekly. These papers now constitute the first volume of our Collections. The number of original contributions was soon largely increased, in consequence of a circular letter addressed by the corresponding secretary to clergymen, and other men of letters, in different parts of the country, soliciting communications relating to local history; and a series of publications has continued to be made, at about the average rate of one volume in two years, embracing relics of the ancient times, and communications of contemporary scholars.

The success of our society, in respect to its original object, will bear lasting witness to the enlightened zeal with which its affairs have been conducted through the first half century. The library contains at present about six thousand printed books, besides a great mass of manuscripts, arranged in a hundred volumes, mostly furnished with tables of contents. Gathered as they have been from various sources, and as opportunity permitted, these books and papers are of course miscellaneous, and of unequal value. But many are of great interest and curiosity, and together they make a collection which the writer on the antiquities of the United States, and especially of New England, is bound diligently to use. Most of the manuscripts, without the public-spirited care of our founders, would probably long since have perished, or gone out of

* On the 23d of October of this year, by appointment of the society, a discourse was delivered by Dr. Belknap, in the church in Brattle Square, on the completion of three centuries since the discovery of America by Christopher Columbus.

sight, and with them would have been lost much of the clear light which has been thrown on the course of our early history,—a history incomparably precious to the New England man, as being that of his own great race, inestimably precious to the wise of every lineage, as being full of rich instruction and example.

The publications of our society, it may be permitted to one who has never had any part in them to say, have been models in their kind. The fidelity and skill of the editorial labor expended on them have not been, if they can be, surpassed. The judicious selection with which many of the venerable fragments of old time have been transferred from their obscurity to an honored place in our libraries; the scrupulous accuracy with which the copy has been made to represent the often faded and hardly legible original; the erudite exactness of the notes; the luxurious fulness of the indexes, sure and prompt guides to every apartment, and shelf, and object of the labyrinthine treasure-house,—are worthy of all praise. With such helps, the reader finds himself on the paths to a wide range of knowledge, with the least possible pains of his own in exploring the way; and he goes on his course rejoicing, sure that, as far as he proceeds, he is treading on safe and firm ground. The publications of set treatises from the primitive age, like Hubbard's "*History*," Johnson's "*Wonder-working Providence*," Mourt's and Winslow's "*Relations*," Josselyn's "*Account of Two Voyages*," Gorges's and Smith's "*Descriptions of New England*," and others, are not more commendable examples of an intelligent pursuit of the objects of the association, than those of Governor Bradford's letter-book, the extracts from the papers of Deputy-Governor Danforth and Mr. Pyncheon, the memoranda, public and private, relating to the expedition against Cape Breton, and numerous other disconnected and fragmentary documents illustrative of different points in our annals.

To our founders belongs the credit of an example which has been followed to similar good results in various parts of the country. The other States of New England, except Vermont, and the States of New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Georgia, Kentucky, Ohio, Illinois, and

Michigan, have each their historical society. The society of New York has published five volumes of transactions; those of New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Pennsylvania, each four; those of Maine and Georgia, each two; and that of Ohio, one. The plan of these associations, and of the publications issued by them, is substantially the same with that of the Massachusetts society. The Antiquarian Society at Worcester, an institution of similar aims, has published two valuable volumes, and possesses a collection of rare interest, which we contemplate with such gratification as could be increased only by seeing it united to our own, so that the student might have access at once to the rich stores of both.

Of those whose names have been most prominent among the efficient and useful members of our association, many continue their enlightened labors for its service and that of the community. Of those departed, some have not been ambitious to connect their fame with the historical literature of the country in any other way. To the administration of the chief office in our society, Governor Gore and Lieutenant-Governor Winthrop devoted, each for several years, the eminent qualities which won for them the confidence of their fellow-citizens in high civil trusts; and while the dignity of their public stations was thus reflected upon these favorite studies, their coveted companionship increased the enjoyment, and their liberal example animated the zeal, of their associates. In the trust of recording secretary, Thomas Wallcut, the Reverend Drs. Freeman and McKean, and Gamaliel Bradford the younger; in that of treasurer, Judge Tudor; in that of librarian, the Reverend Drs. Kirkland, Alden, and McKean, William S. Shaw, Elisha Clap, and James Bowdoin; in that of cabinet-keeper, Samuel Turell, Redford Webster, and the Reverend Drs. Alden and McKean; in that of the standing committee, the Reverend Drs. Thacher, Freeman, and Kirkland, and Mr. Emerson, Judge Tudor, James Winthrop, Redford Webster, Samuel P. Gardner, and James Bowdoin, have entitled themselves to a grateful remembrance this day by their enlightened, diligent, and valuable labors. All these eminent persons, with the exception of Governor Gore, Dr. Alden,

and Messrs. Wallcut, Bradford, Shaw, Turell, James Winthrop, and Gardner, have been engaged in the superintendence of one or more volumes of our society's publications; a service which has also been discharged by the Reverend Dr. Morse, Judge William Wetmore, Dr. Aaron Dexter, Dr. William Spooner, and his early lost and greatly lamented son. To none of our deceased associates does the praise of the extreme skill, diligence, and learning of the editorial preparation of the published volumes more belong, than to the Reverend Dr. Freeman, and Mr. James Bowdoin; the latter of whom has left no other proof of a love of historical studies and a sagacity and exactness of mind which made him a sort of oracle among his friends, and the former wrote no history but what is found in occasional contributions to these Collections.

On the other hand, our roll exhibits the names of writers whose works have taken a permanent place in this department of letters; of Belknap, the author of the dignified and faithful "History of New Hampshire," and of the two instructive volumes of "American Biography";* of Minot, whose "History of the Insurrections in Massachusetts" and "Continuation of Hutchinson's History" are monuments alike of the fulness of his knowledge, the soundness and candor of his judgment, and the elegance of his taste;† of Holmes, whose indefatigable spirit of inquiry, and exacting and fastidious love of truth, were necessary to make so copious and trustworthy a book as the "Annals of America";‡ of Sullivan, whose always cheerful and active mind could find time, in a life seemingly crowded full of public cares, for the spirited sketch of the history of Maine.§ John Adams, though destined to be more known in history by even higher titles, has taken a place among historical writers by his "Defence of the American

* Dr. Belknap was corresponding secretary the first seven years, and a member of the committees for the publication of Vols. I., III., and IV.

† Judge Minot was successively cabinet-keeper, recording secretary, librarian, and treasurer. He also served on the standing committee, and on the committees for publishing Vols. I., IV., and VI.

‡ Dr. Holmes was a member of the standing committee two years, and then, from 1813, corresponding secretary twenty years, till his death. He was also a member of the committees for publishing Vols. VII., X., XII., XV., XVI., XVII., XVIII., and XX.

§ Governor Sullivan was president of the Society the first fifteen years from its institution, and served on the committee for publishing Vol. II.

Constitutions," his "Letters on the American Revolution," his "History of the Dispute with America," and other treatises. The writings of John Lowell were for temporary purposes, but the abundance and aptness of the illustrations, from the experience of all time, with which their lessons were pointed, showed a mind familiar with the discipline of the historic muse. Nathan Dane's "Abridgment of American Law" is a crowded storehouse of facts in the local history of that severe science. William Sullivan's fluent and graceful pen traced the series of "Historical Causes and Effects from the Fall of the Roman Empire to the Reformation."* While numerous others of our associates — as the Reverend Dr. Eliot, in his "Biographical Dictionary" of the New England worthies;† the Reverend Dr. Harris, in his "Life of Oglethorpe";‡ Alden Bradford, in his "Life of Mayhew," "History of Massachusetts," "History of the Federal Government," and other works;§ William Tudor, in his "Life of James Otis";|| William Lincoln, in his edition of the "Journal of the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts," and others in works of less pretension — have evinced their own wise estimation of the examples and instructions of earlier times, and with a generous forethought have reflected the light, gathered from the past into their own minds, for the improvement and guidance of the times to come.

The progress of our society has been coeval with the rise of a historical literature in the country. The "Journal" of Winthrop, Morton's "Memorial," and other documents transmitted from the primitive age, invaluable, from their authenticity, as materials for the later writer of history, of course do not come into the account of specimens in that department of composition. Hubbard, as by the discovery of Winthrop's manuscript has been made

* William Sullivan was of the committee for publishing Vol. VIII.

† Dr. Eliot was librarian the first seven years, except one year when he was cabinet-keeper. He then succeeded Dr. Beiknap as corresponding secretary for fifteen years, till his death. He was on the committees of publication for Vols. I., IV., V., and VIII.

‡ Dr. Harris was librarian four years, and a member of the committees for publishing Vols. VII., X., XII., XXIII., and XXVI.

§ Mr. Bradford was of the committees for publishing Vols. XI., XIII., and XVIII.

|| William Tudor was four years a member of the standing committee, and served on the committees for publishing Vols. XIV., XVII., and XIX.

manifest, was but the copyist of that excellent authority in great part of his book, and deserves little credit in respect to all the period in which he had not that resource. The historical medley of Cotton Mather, in the next age, is beneath criticism in any point of view. The exact and laborious Prince had no higher aim than that of a faithful annalist. The crude and petulant sketches of Douglass are the work of a traveller and essayist rather than of a historian. The only formal histories, of a date earlier than that of the origin of our society, were those of Hutchinson and Belknap, of the latter of which the first volume only had been published.

The work of Hutchinson claims applause for almost every merit, except what the position of its writer denied to it. A dependent colony cannot possess a generous literature; and especially a good history of itself is the last thing that can be expected to proceed from it, at least till it has reached a mental independence by becoming ripe for a change in its political condition. With all his eminent qualities of mind and character, no one thinks to call Hutchinson a great man. Nature, it seems, would have had him one, but unpropitious circumstances would not suffer it. A native of one country, and entitled by his parentage to a liberal share in its patrimony of honor, yet dwelling in it as the public servant of another, the relations he sustained were too incongruous to permit his giving a whole heart to its service and its glory. To write worthily of Massachusetts, while governing it for England, was a task beyond his, it was a task beyond the reach of any, genius. The representative of a foreign sovereignty had subjected his mind to a treatment, which no mind can pass through, that is to come to any rich heritage of fame. He had studied what he undertook to write of, with a sagacious diligence; as to the events preceding his own times, at least, he will not be charged with having been a dishonest narrator; all the details of his subject were vividly before him; and yet he did not understand his subject. The minister of a British ministry, the aspirant after a British peerage, could not comprehend the republican spirit of his fathers. He wrote of earnest controversies, in which fundamental principles

of policy were brought into conflict ; but his heart was abroad, and he was incapable of writing of them like one of his own brave people, or even as they would have been written of by a discerning observer, independent of both the parties. When was ever a series of transactions like those connected with the vacating of the old charter recorded in so indifferent a strain by a pen so vigorous as Hutchinson's ? Had it been his to love the land that gave him birth with the ardor of an undivided allegiance, with what a different coloring would that pale sketch have glowed !

Of Belknap's history no less can be said, than that, to take a very high rank among writings of its class, it wanted little besides a better theme. He had most of the qualities of mind which have given to others a decided eminence in this department. What he found to relate he has told with beautiful faithfulness, perspicuity, and taste. His work was the dawn of a better day in composition, growing out of the freedom of mind which came with national independence. If the history of New Hampshire was not so fruitful as others in events that move and instruct the reader, this was no fault of the author, however much it may abate from the interest which, with a fairer opportunity, he was capable of winning to his work.

As to writings of the highest pretension, these two works constituted the historical library of New England at the time when our society entered on its labors. From these beginnings has grown up within this period a historical literature of an unquestionably high character when tried by any standard, vindicating the reputation of our national scholarship abroad perhaps more satisfactorily than its successes in any other style of composition. And the capital productions of this kind, which have recently installed some of our compatriots in exalted seats in the republic of letters, appear to be also the earnest of further achievements in the same attractive walk. There are signs that the literary ambition of the country is choosing this as its favorite direction, and that the labors to which the attention of our society has been turned have been seasonably providing facilities for many, who, in these prosperous days of our republic, can afford to aspire after a name in letters.

It is a trite saying, but it is one weighty enough to bear repetition, that those are true benefactors to a country who do it the service of preserving the facts in its history for the instruction of later times. Among our associates, Gentlemen, have been eminent public servants, of whom future history is to declare that their country is their debtor for benefits in some of its highest places of trust, and its most critical exigencies of fortune. But few of them, perhaps, have done it any more useful service than in the part they have taken in keeping alive the knowledge of the deeds and principles of its founders. The safety of nations is in the patriotism of the people, and patriotism is mainly inspired by remembrance of the glories of the past. The deeds of former generations make a nation's point of honor. Base thoughts and practices stand abashed and rebuked, when confronted with an honorable history. Virtue stands up firm and confident, when recognized as a thing not new or foreign. *Our fathers would, or would not, have done so*, is the eloquent watchword of worthy enterprises, and dissuasive from the pusillanimity that is in danger of being swayed by the clamorous policy of the hour. They are no fit legislators, they are not trustworthy patriots in a private sphere, whose views take in only the necessities and proprieties of passing occasions. The doom of that people is written, which cannot look above the great interest of present prosperity to the greater one of maintaining an honest fame. There is a public conscience, as much as a private one, which is fortified and emboldened by the memory of good desert. The sense of a character to keep up and a character to lose makes the same element of dignity and uprightness in bodies of men as in the experienced individual.

And what conservative element is there more availing for the security of the institutions of a country? The fact, that those institutions are experienced, by the generation at any time upon the stage, to be salutary for the protection of its good order and well-being, may well dispose it to contentment, and disincline it to radical changes, of untried and uncertain expediency. But very little does it effect towards making them the object of that loyal devotion which, when occasion demands, puts forth mightier

energies than any other passion that inspires the human breast, — very little does it effect towards this end, compared with the intense remembrance of the men and measures, the exploits and the sacrifices, of other times, by which the existing social system has been reared. By most who love the social system they live under, it is revered and will be guarded as a sacred thing, not so much for what it is, but for the glowing memories that trace the course by which it became and has been kept what it is. For one Englishman who has any intelligent perception of any benefit he has derived from the Great Charter, how many thousands would have gone cheerfully in its defence to the field or the block, moved by their sympathy with the brave struggle that extorted it from arbitrary power! Had English history not been written, how far, as to an unconquerable love for whatever is good in their government and laws, would the mass of Englishmen have differed now from the native tribes of the land we dwell upon, without national character or enthusiasm, because without their necessary aliment in animating records of the past?

Gentlemen of the Historical Society, your studies and those of your predecessors have enlarged and diffused the knowledge of the history of these United States, especially of the New England commonwealths, and, most especially, of that State in which you have labored, and from which your society takes its name; and, in so doing, you have performed a good service of patriotism, while you have illustrated a significant chapter in the experience of man. It would be vain to say that the history, which you have done so much to fill up, can in all its parts be contemplated with equal satisfaction; but, if the records of wisdom and virtue deserve to be perpetuated and cleared from obscurity, certainly your cares have not been bestowed on an undeserving theme. Let other men love and praise other countries more than ours. That must be, because ours is not theirs. But it is impossible for a discerning man to turn over the records of Massachusetts, which you have collected and circulated, and not find delight in the exhibition there held up of much that is most vigorous and excellent in human nature. They are the records of a

people generally prudent and clear-sighted through the whole term of its history ; but which, hasty and mistaken as at one period, or sagacious and rightly judging as at another, has been always firm and brave, always true and loyal to the convictions of the time.

Of what strain of the history of Massachusetts are not these qualities the key-note ? In the parent country, the country peopled by the great race of modern times, a violent fermentation of opinion takes place. Views in religion and politics, for which a preparation of centuries has been making, at length have gained such strength and confidence that they are able to struggle for the mastery ; but the contest is a difficult, and is destined to be a bloody one ; and numbers feel, that, however the die may fall, the large liberty they sigh for must still be a distant blessing. Country, and quiet, and an easy domestic life, are dear to them. But liberty of thought and conscience are dearer, and, to secure the greater boon, they cheerfully forego the less. They set sail for the "outside of the world," and land on the rock of Plymouth. A winter as dreary as their fortunes buries half of their number beneath its snows. But the half that survives bates no jot of heart or hope. They sicken and starve through ten dismal years. But at length they produce food enough to exist upon ; a generation is growing up, that, never having been used to any thing better, can the more readily accommodate itself to such a condition, and is more fruitful in expedients for improving it ; and the Old Colony begins to breathe a healthy and stable life. The enterprise long attempted, but hitherto always foiled, finds success at last. What political ambition and commercial cupidity had tried in vain is accomplished by the more vigorous impulses of Christian faith and the passion for freedom ; and the British race has fixed a home upon a far distant continent, unknown, as much as another planet, till within little more than a hundred years.

The causes that drove abroad that resolute band of exiles have continued to act. England has become even a more uncomfortable home for men worthy to be reckoned of its lineage. A company in some respects more competent to the responsibility of founders of an empire soon

follows in the path that has been opened. Men eminent in learning, and experienced in public affairs at home, not at all such *cavaliers* as built up the great southern colony, but genuine representatives of the conventional dignity of the mother country, men and matrons* of its gentle and its noble blood, come with the band that plants itself on the shore of Massachusetts Bay; and Plymouth, always doing worthily its secondary part, leans henceforward on a sister colony as magnanimous as itself in its devotion to truth and freedom. The troubles of the time prompt multitudes of the more generous spirits of England to cast in their lot with the fortunes of the infant state. In fifteen years from the settlement at Salem, more than twenty thousand emigrants have come over. They are the germ of a nation. The face of affairs changes at home. Dissent has its triumph. Puritanism reigns in England, and emigration ceases. A people has taken root here, to work out its destiny under influences mainly from within itself. With scarcely exceptions enough to deserve any account in the enumeration, we who now constitute the States of New England are descendants of Englishmen established here before the year 1643.† We and our fathers have dwelt here, an almost unmixed race, for more than two hundred years, a quarter of the time since the Norman conquest.

In this period of the national infancy, terminating with the discontinuance of the emigration, our fathers have done three things chiefly noticeable as indicative of their character and policy, and tending to determine the character and policy of their successors. By the institution of their college, and of the common school system, they have provided for the instruction of the people. By the Pequot

* E. g. the wives of Isaac Johnson and of Deputy-Governor Humphrey, daughters of the Earl of Lincoln; of Samuel Whitney, minister of Lynn, daughter of Oliver St. John; of John Sherman, minister of Watertown, granddaughter of Earl Rivers.

† Hutchinson represents the emigration as having ceased in 1640. *History*, Vol. I. p. 91. But the statement of Johnson is probably more exact. "In the transportation of these armies of the great Jehovah, for fifteen years' space to the year 1643, about which time England began to endeavour after reformation, and the soldiers of Christ were set at liberty to bide his battles at home, for whose assistance some of the chief worthies of Christ returned back, the number of ships that transported passengers in this space of time, as is supposed, is two hundred and ninety-eight. Men, women, and children passing over this wide ocean, as near as at present can be gathered, is also supposed to be twenty thousand and two hundred, or thereabout." — *Wonder-working Providence*, § 31.

War they have vindicated for themselves a permanent lodgment on the soil. By pertinaciously holding on to their charter, which the king and his ministers see with amazement converted, under their hands, from a grant of commercial privileges into a constitution of government, and by the interpretation which they insist on putting upon its provisions, they have constituted their community to all practical purposes an independent republic.* Here

* Possibly that limitation of the elective franchise, which has exposed them in these latter days to so much reproach, is to be considered much more in the light of a political calculation than of a sectarian scruple. "We wish," say the North American Reviewers (Vol. XLIV., pp. 521, 522), "we could make our countrymen of other portions of the Union look a little more closely than they have done at some large relations of that old policy of New England, which some of them appear to think a single severe paragraph or period quite sufficient to despatch. It is a great grief and offence to them, that church-membership was made a qualification for the enjoyment of the franchises of a freeman of the colony. Let them chide, if they must. But we can tell them, that they would have had to wait somewhat longer for their independence, if it had not been for this intolerant spirit of New England legislation, which gives them so much disturbance. Lord Clarendon tells us, that the royal commissioners, sent out in 1664, found the northern colonies already 'hardened into republics.' They had been a short time hardening. What hardened them so fast? Nothing more than the jealous and rigid pertinacity with which they adhered to their theory of exclusion from political power of all who might have used it to strangle their embryo commonwealth. It will not do to look upon the Massachusetts fathers as a set of heady zealots, careful only to have their own way in religion without regard to consequences, and that way not a very wise one. There were cool and far-sighted statesmen at the helm. King or Protector to the contrary notwithstanding, they meant to have a republic; and they had it virtually from the first, exercising with the utmost freedom all attributes of sovereignty, though avoiding all ostentation of it with the utmost address. They were not so unfit for their delicate work, as to be willing to commit power to any who would have used it to obstruct their object, or even who would not sympathize with them in hearty zeal for its accomplishment. They meant that no man, attached to the monarchy of England through attachment to its church (whether that should turn out to be Papal or Episcopal), should have a particle of power to annoy them in the prosecution of their great work; and therefore, if such a man came to live among them, they would have it that he should come as the subject, not as the sharer, of *their* government. Dexterity as well as nerve had a place in playing so critical a game, and little fit would they have been to win it, if they had volunteered to show their hands to his Majesty's Privy Council. To exclude churchmen from power, and admit to it other dissenters from their own communion, would have been to deprive their act of all color, even if otherwise it would have perfectly attained their end. Taking advantage of their reputation abroad for acting under impulses which observers less sagacious than themselves supposed to be the only ones that had power over their minds, they cut off indiscriminately those who did not love their creeds from all participation in the government, and were quite willing that others should be stupid enough to ascribe to a stupid bigotry of theirs a measure which, had it been seen to be prompted, as it was, by the profoundest policy, would have brought down on them, too soon, the hard and heavy hand of England. So they had their own way, without any one in their own midst to mar it. So they consolidated their institutions, till, by the time when the second generation came forward, they had 'hardened into republics.' So they kept up and bequeathed the intense and constant spirit they had brought with them. So they stood quietly by their arms, to watch the signs of the times, and do what, from one time to another, might be needful for the keeping of the treasure they had no mind to part with. So they were ready to depose and imprison a king's governor, as they actually did in Boston, in 1688; and if matters had then gone otherwise in England, they would perhaps have antedated the Revolution by

are the three heads of that pregnant chapter of their history, which records the doings of the first fifteen years of Massachusetts.

The star of Cromwell culminates, and all is fair weather in the Puritan colony. He urges on them the present of Jamaica, but they have established too friendly a companionship with the cutting winds of the Bay to be won from them by any tropical voluptuousness. They keep up an edifying correspondence with the Protector. They annoy the French and Dutch to his good content. They accommodate and satisfy him in every thing except observance of his Navigation Laws. These they do not so read their charter as to feel bound by. And he sees in them so much of his own plausible determination, that he lets their contumacy pass, choosing not to seem to notice what might be found so difficult to cure.

But "the king enjoys his own again," and Popery and despotism once more shake their gory locks before the aching sight of the Massachusetts fathers. Lord Clarendon knows all about the charter, and he means that no such pretext as it affords shall protect the too ambitious spirit of transatlantic liberty in affronting the throne. From the Restoration till 1685, twenty-four years, a stubborn conflict is going on for its preservation. It is defended with a boldness, pertinacity, and address that deserve a better fortune, though undoubtedly its interpretation had been stretched with a most questionable freedom. Connecticut and Rhode Island use perhaps a wise conciliation, at all events, the result proves it to be a fortunate one. But resolute and impracticable Massachusetts cannot make up her mind to conciliate. She consents to no surrender of what she esteems her right; it is denied her, and she waits for the time when she can take redress into her own hands.

The contest for the charter, in which the young people

nearly a century. So they built firm the foundations of the commonwealths which at length did the part of New England, were that little or much, in the War of Independence. Blot the franchise laws of the Massachusetts colonists out of history, — for the sake of getting clear of the diatribes which small wits indite upon their bigotry, let in the emissaries of Strafford and Laud into the council-chambers of the New England Puritans, and we do not like to say, — for we are modest Yankees, no less than well-affectioned, — we do not like to hint, how differently, by this time, the history, not only of one continent, but of the other, would have read."

takes a long lesson in the lore of independence, makes one of the great features of the period between the discontinuance of the emigration and the conversion of the Colony into the Province. The other is the tremendous crisis of King Philip's War. Before it is finished, there is scarcely a family in Massachusetts or Plymouth, but has lost a father, brother, or son. Plymouth has incurred a debt estimated to be equal to the whole personal property of its people. The sacrifice of life and property in Massachusetts, between June, 1675, and October, 1676, is greater, in proportion to her population and wealth, than that afterwards sustained by her in the whole eight years' War of Independence. She met the exhausting demand almost wholly from her own resources. England made no such costly struggle to defeat the Spanish invasion. The Netherlands, in the same age, made no efforts at all approaching such a disproportion to their means.* It seems as if Massachusetts was disposed, at whatever cost, to avoid receiving any thing that could be called favor from a foreign government, whose control over herself she was always intent on limiting as far as possible.† In short, they chose to take care of themselves, though they could ill afford it, and to give the king as little right as possible to appeal to their gratitude when they should be disposed to try any bolder experiments on his authority.

The next period, opening characteristically with the insurrection against Sir Edmund Andros, and extending to the close of the last French war, exhibits the same

* Hutchinson speaks of it as "certain, that, as the colony was at first settled, so it was now preserved from ruin, without any charge to the mother country. Nay, as far as I can judge from the materials I have," he continues, "the collections made in the colony, after the fire of London, for the relief of the sufferers there, and on other occasions, for the relief of divers of the plantations, with other public donations, from the first settlement until the charter was vacated, will not fall much, if any thing, short of the whole sum that was bestowed upon the colony from abroad, during that time."

† Such appears to be the intimation in a letter of her friend, Lord Anglesey, in 1676, when he writes, "I must chide you, and that whole people of New England, that, as if you were independent of our master's crown, needed not his protection, or had deserved ill of him, from the first hour of God's stretching forth his hand against you to this time, though we have successive and frequent tidings, like Job's messengers, of the great devastations and spoils that are made by fire and sword upon those plantations, which God hath so signally blessed and made to flourish till now, you have not yet, as certainly became you, made your addresses to the king's majesty, or some of his ministers, for his perusal, that he might be authentically informed both of your enemies and your condition, by what means you are brought low, and what are the most proper and hopeful remedies for your recovery."

character of the people in three different series of events, — those of the witchcraft delusion, the protracted conflict with the French and Indians, and the disputes with the colonial governors touching the respective limits of the royal prerogative and of the liberties of New England.

The provision in the charter of William and Mary for the appointment of the executive government by the crown, perhaps the only provision in that instrument in which it was not better adapted than the old charter to the actual condition of the colonists, of course had the effect of keeping alive the jealousy and irritation of the people against supposed encroachment, and of carrying on the discipline of their education for absolute freedom; and the reader easily traces in this succession of controversies the process which formed the principles and men of 1775.

As to the witchcraft madness, it was, no doubt, a dreadful passage in a majestic movement of events. He who will may laugh at the folly, though he would much more reasonably mourn over the cruelty and the sorrow. But even here the great difference between the people of Massachusetts and of other communities whose history bears no such stain is, that what both alike professed to believe, the former more consistently and honestly acted out. To hold an opinion entertained by Sir Edward Coke and Sir Matthew Hale, while enjoying no better opportunities for correcting that opinion than they, is not to incur the reproach of any extraordinary dulness of intellect. The men of Massachusetts, being no wiser than those sages of the law, sincerely believed in the reality of witchcraft (the unquestionable integrity of Sewall confirms for us in this matter the more suspicious honesty, if we are tempted to esteem it such, of Mather and of Stoughton); and whatever opinions, upon facts or duties, Massachusetts has held, her habit has been, whether for good or ill, to follow them with vigorous action. Deplore as we may the grievous infatuation, still, more even than we lament and condemn that, may we find cause to applaud the brave and constant spirit that never would quail before the awful delusion that possessed it. It was no less than the powers of darkness that these men believed to be their assailants.

They imagined the Prince of Hell, with his legions, to be among them, the Lord's host, seeking among them whom he might devour; and they gave place to him for subjection, no, not for an hour. Set upon by invisible and supernatural foes, they thought of nothing but prompt defiance, inflexible resistance, and the victory which God would give his people. They would have made bare the arm of flesh against the Serpent in bodily presence, could he have put on an assailable shape; as it was, they let it fall without mercy on those whom they understood to be his emissaries.

The succession of French and Indian wars from 1675 to 1763 made another long trial of this same indomitable character. While the other colonies doubled their population by natural increase in twenty-five years, Massachusetts had not twice as many inhabitants in 1713 as it contained fifty years before. Again; between 1722 and 1762 the population was not doubled; and Hutchinson, in recording these facts, remarks, "It is probable there would have been two hundred thousand souls more than there are at this time, if the French had been driven from Canada an hundred years ago." While New York, imbecile, if not perfidious, patches up a paltry truce with the Canadian French and their savage allies, and so leaves them free to descend from the Berkshire hills upon our unprotected outposts, Massachusetts never deserts her position of pertinacious championship. Stretching herself across the path of the invader, Rhode Island and Connecticut repose in safety beneath her shield. She makes the weight of her courage felt even in the scale of foreign politics. By that romantic, one is half tempted to say that incredible enterprise, the expedition against Louisbourg, she gives peace to Europe by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, bringing England with credit out of a four years' war, which else would have been an unbroken succession of blunders and disasters. She sends seven thousand men, between two and three times as many as are raised by all the other colonies together, to that later war which for ever broke down the power of France on this western continent; and Ticonderoga, Lake George, Crown Point, and Quebec all have their story to tell of her adventurous valor.

To meet the expenses of this war, the Stamp Act is passed, and that series of arbitrary measures is entered upon, which make up the issue whether British Americans are to be taxed except by their own representatives, and result in the independence of the United Colonies. The contest for her charter, the palladium of her liberties, has extended through the whole period of the colonial history of Massachusetts, and, when the time comes that she must either forego that safeguard or defy at tremendous hazard the power which in justice should have respected it, then she will be a colony no longer. She publishes the claims of freedom in the arguments of her jurists and statesmen, and the resolves of her towns and representative assemblies; she strikes the first blow for it on the 19th of April, 1775, and follows it up with another and stronger, two months after; and she furnishes one soldier in every three to the armies of the Revolution.

The peace of independence finds her impoverished and exhausted. Patriotism has been strained to its utmost of forbearance and sacrifice. Want tempts to disorder; and a portion of her citizens, not without the sympathy and countenance of a much larger number, believed to extend to not less than a third of her population, are in rebellious arms against her authority. But she is not used to truckle to menaces from foreign or domestic foe. If it seems to be to her shame, that one third of her people, under strong distresses, proved mutinous and faithless, it is proportionally to her praise, that, in such a crisis, she could keep two thirds on the right side, and by upright counsels and resolute action could make the right prevail. She looks first to the vital interest of the maintenance of a government for the common protection, and pauses not for any other care till she has put down the insurrection by the strong arm, and delivered its leaders to the last penalty of the law they have defied. When they are harmless and penitent, she proves herself as lenient as she has been firm, and dismisses them to the insignificance which her energy has shown must always, within her borders, be the doom of the lawless agitator.

Thenceforth, thanks to a gracious Providence, her characteristic vigor is mostly exercised in the arts of peace.

The privations and perils of the settlement are matter of old history. The notes of Indian, of French and British war have died in the distance. Massachusetts is an honored member of a confederacy constituting the most powerful of all republics since the fall of Rome. In the course of fifty prosperous years, her commerce has found its way to every mart of the civilized or barbarous world. Her children contentedly till the earth, as did their fathers, and find the means of making it yield more liberal returns. Tenacious of old habits, she seeks no untried means of gain. But the will of others, strangers to her councils, determines, that, if she will have a share in the common prosperity, her activity must take new forms. She yields to the course of things, and her ingenuity and industry enrich her through the labors of her artisans. She is never remiss as to the supply of the sources of all her past prosperity, in the institutions of religion and education. Her ancient spirit of enterprise, assuming peaceful forms, aspires to literary eminence, and excites to philanthropic action. She sends out her missionaries to distant continents and islands. She originates the astonishing movement of the reformation from intemperance. She speaks a deep-toned remonstrance against the wrongs of the slave. The means, of which, governed by the demands of the time, she was wont to be so lavish for the harsh uses of war, she distributes now with even a freer hand in a wise application to the relief of all forms of human calamity. She has lived down the detraction of ignorance. By the ways that her wealth and intelligence have opened, strangers come from all the quarters to look at her prosperity, and own in it the natural product of the virtues and the lessons of the Pilgrims.

Since the institution of societies similar to our own in different parts of the country, and the endeavours made in other ways in many States of the Union, each for the completion of its own history, it may be expected, Gentlemen, that your labors will henceforward be still more particularly directed to what has always engaged a great share of your attention, the illustration of the history of this Commonwealth. May the task in all future times be as grateful as it has been, in being devoted to the record

of a virtuous people ; and may they who are to carry on the work always prosecute it in the enlightened and devoted spirit of those predecessors to the memory of whose meritorious exertions we have consecrated the meeting of this day. Our native country, and this part of it certainly not less than any other, ought to have its history the most fully told of any nation that has played a part on the theatre of time. We have no fabulous age. Our origin was at a period when means of record and of communication were ample ; and many of the prominent actors in our affairs, from age to age, have, in their several ways, been copious writers. No doubt, time has made irrecoverable spoil of much that we might have rejoiced to rescue. Your diligence has made rich gleanings in the now silent field ; but not a little of its precious produce must still remain unnoticed, amply deserving your care to collect and save. You have well entitled yourselves to the confidence of the community, and to such encouragement and assistance as circumstances may permit it to afford to your public-spirited object.

In respect to pecuniary aid from the public whom you serve, your claims, to judge from the past, are likely always to be of that extreme moderation, which, with the sense that prevails of the importance of their object, will not permit them to be denied. Your faithfulness in the preservation, and your judgment and diligence in the use, of the stores you have hitherto gathered have been approved by sufficient trial ; and henceforward it is not unreasonable to anticipate that your library will be regarded, by any who have the means of adding to its wealth, as an eligible place of deposit for materials of historical illustration, which, remaining in private hands, will, besides being exposed to chances of loss, be generally of extremely small value, compared with what they will assume when committed to your care.

If it be true that the Commonwealth is the safer and more virtuous for all that excites its citizens to an emulation of wise and virtuous progenitors, then the Commonwealth, as a body politic, stands deeply indebted to you ; and it may appear just for you to look to it for a ready patronage, or an effective coöperation, in such of your

undertakings as its intervention may promote. Your proposal, some years ago, for the adoption of measures on its part for filling up certain chasms in the provincial history, by obtaining copies of records and letters from the English offices, was favorably regarded, and suitable legislative proceedings were had for the accomplishment of your wishes. Circumstances incident to certain relations between the two countries have interfered with the execution of the plan. But these have now passed away. The time seems in all respects propitious. And perhaps there is no fitter step for signalizing the commencement of your second half century, than by an effort to procure transcripts of the public documents of the period of the usurpation of Andros; of the Council records from 1692 to 1747; of the records of the General Court for ten years or more, destroyed in the fire of the latter year, but believed to be extant in a duplicate in the State Paper Office in London; and of such papers of the administrations of the last English governors as have disappeared from the public archives.*

If it be true, Gentlemen, that the community should be the wiser and better for the lessons you have laid before it from its history, it seems to be equally so that the history of our society, to which the occasion has invited us to look back, should excite us, and those who after us are to assume the maintenance of its character, to a sedulous emulation of those who before us, and under our eyes, have served and honored it. It should be ours to justify it in saying, —

“While I remain above the ground, you shall
Hear from me still, and never of me aught
But what is like me formerly. — That 's worthily
As any ear can hear.”

We have pursued these studies in company which any man might desire to enter. At our meetings, from month to month, we have had the happiness of accosting men as worthy, as enlightened, and as cultivated, as any of us

* The Historical Society presented a memorial on this subject to the General Court of 1845. The Court passed resolves (1845, chapters 3 and 115) authorizing the governor to take measures accordingly. The Reverend Joseph B. Felt, long a useful member of this society, received an appointment from his Excellency to make examinations and procure copies in the English offices, and Mr. Benjamin P. Poore, of Newbury, in the French.

have known. Some, stealing along a path remote from the excitements of the present, seemed to find the great joy of life in deepening the legends on the tombstones of the fathers. Some, loaded with the cares of preserving, for the present and the future, what the venerable generations gone bequeathed, and keeping the salt from losing its savor, seemed to turn from their dusty paths to these mossy wells of wholesome instruction, like the tired heart to the water-brooks. Happy both, in having learned to revere such a venerable and instructive antiquity! Happy both, in the inclination to imbibe and enforce such lessons! Happy the community, which, sympathizing with such minds, trains itself, by contemplation of the simple virtues of former weak and troubled days, to use prosperity without giddiness, and power without rashness or pride! The founders of New England left a rich inheritance to their children, but in nothing so precious as in the memory of their wise and steady virtue. May there never be baseness to affront that memory! May there never be indifference to lose or disregard it! May its ennobling appeal never fail of a quick response in the hearts of any generation of dwellers on this honored soil!

THE
NEW ENGLAND CONFEDERACY OF MDCXLIII.

A DISCOURSE DELIVERED BEFORE THE SOCIETY, ON THE TWENTY-NINTH OF MAY, 1843; IN CELEBRATION OF THE SECOND CENTENNIAL ANNIVERSARY OF THAT EVENT.

BY JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

MY BRETHREN OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY :
FELLOW-CITIZENS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN :—

IN reviewing the history of this confederated Union, one of the first remarks which impresses itself on the mind of the philosophical observer is the heterogeneous and conflicting primitive elements of which it was composed. It has been said that the most essential qualifications for a historian are to have neither religion nor country. And if religion consisted of a blind, unquestioning zeal in support of speculative dogmas transmitted from generation to generation, under the seal of a fisherman's ring, and the infallible dictate of a fallible man ; if patriotism were compounded of the mere impulse of passion to support, right or wrong, the purposes of the land in which you were born, or the community to which you belong, — then, indeed, the devout worshipper and the ardent patriot must discard all the emblems of his religion and his country, before he may dare to assume the pen of the historian.

History is the record of the transactions of human beings associated in communities,— not of all their transactions, because there are multitudes of human actions which neither the actor nor any other of his fellow-creatures can have any possible interest in remembering ; and other greater multitudes, which the interest of the actor and of all others

requires to be buried in oblivion. But whatever in the transactions of associated man bears on the causes and motives of their congregation into communities, and on their corporate existence and well-being, assumes the character of a material for history.

The history of the United States of America commenced with a bloody revolution and a seven years' war, which separated a part of them from the condition of colonies, subject to the sovereignty of the crown of England, from which they had received their charters. These charters as *colonies* gave them no right either to dissolve their allegiance to their common sovereign beyond the seas or to form any confederation or alliance between themselves, much less to constitute themselves one people. This complicated and transcendent act of sovereignty was, and could be, performed only by the people themselves, through their representatives. As representatives of the colonies, they could have no right to dissolve their allegiance; as representatives of the colonies, they could exercise only delegated power, and the colonies themselves had no power either to dissolve their own allegiance or to form a new social compact constituting a new sovereign authority over them all. By the dissolution of their ties and oaths of allegiance they dissolved also their connection with their country. They were no longer British subjects. They renounced all claim of protection from the government of Great Britain. They held, and declared they held, the *people* of Great Britain no longer as countrymen, fellow-subjects, or fellow-citizens; but as the rest of mankind, "enemies in war, in peace friends."

Their union *de facto* had existed from the time of the first meeting of the Congress at Philadelphia, in September, 1774; but that union had been formed, not by chartered rights, but by the primitive, natural rights of man, revolutionary and transcendental,—the inalienable right of resistance to oppression,—the right bestowed by the God of nature, preceding all human association, to dissolve a government which fails to discharge the duties for which all governments are instituted,—and the resulting right to form and establish a new government to supply the place of that which had been dissolved. This

dissolution of allegiance was thus proclaimed by the whole people of these North American colonies, and, with the dissolution of the common allegiance, they declared the colonies free and independent states. They thereby re-conferred upon the colonial governments all the authorities which by the charters of the several colonies they had possessed, and, without forming one general government for the whole people, left to the people of each several State the right of forming for themselves a State constitution, and proceeded to form for the whole a confederation of separate and independent States.

The revolutionary union still continued. The people of the several States formed and established their separate State constitutions. Four years of time were consumed in the painful and laborious preparation, by the joint agency of the General Congress and of the State legislatures, of a confederation, which, when adopted, proved to be a body without a soul, — a marble statue, without Promethean fire. The whole people of the Union were taught by severe experience that what they wanted was a common government, and that a confederacy is not a government. They commenced their work again as one people, and formed the constitution of the United States, — a government under which more than one generation of men have already lived and passed away; and which, with the blessing of Divine Providence, we may yet hope will prove a bond of union to this great and growing nation, for untold ages yet to come. At this time, its most imminent dangers arise not from external aggression, but from its prospects and temptations to aggrandizement. The territories which originally constituted the domain of the North American Union, already so extensive, at the time when the constitution was under the consideration of the people, as to constitute one of the most formidable objections against its adoption, have since that period been more than doubled by the acquisition and annexation of Louisiana and the Floridas. With the expansion of the surface of soil, to be cultivated and replenished by the swarming myriads of our future population, men of other races, the children of other blood, bred to other opinions, accustomed to other institutions, trained to other preju-

dices, and disciplined to other principles, have been invested with the community of our rights, and mingled with the tide of our common concerns. It was by the accession of foreign conquered nations to the rights and privileges of Roman citizens, that the republic degenerated into an empire, and the empire itself was overrun and extinguished by hordes of foreign barbarians. The people of the United States themselves, who declared and achieved their independence, were not all of one common origin. The United Netherlands, Sweden, Germany, the refugees from religious persecution in France, had contributed to the still scanty streams of population covering the broad surface of the thirteen colonies at the time of their political revolution. In the origin of the colonies which united to achieve their independence, the most opposite and discordant elements were combined. All the parties, religious and political, which for more than two centuries had convulsed and desolated the mother country, were now united in harmony against her. The cavalier of the court of James the First had begun the settlement of Virginia, though the name of the colony dated back to the romantic age of Elizabeth. The rigid Roman Catholic nobleman of Ireland formed the adjoining settlement to that of Virginia; while, at a later period, the aristocratic republic of John Locke at the south, and the hereditary Quaker monarchy of William Penn at the north, bordered upon the settlements of Virginia and Maryland. Next to these, Sweden, in the days of Christina, and the United Netherlands, emancipated from the dominion of Spain, had commenced establishments destined to fall at an early day, by the right of conquest, into the hands of the Anglo-Saxon. The spirit of adventure in France had already penetrated to those mediterranean seas which seem to be but the overflowing of the river St. Lawrence, and to the hyperborean skies of Acadia.

The first English colony upon this continent had received from the Virgin Queen, even before its birth, the name, now so illustrious, of Virginia. By her immediate successor, James the First, there was granted a territory, from the thirtieth to the forty-eighth degree of latitude, to two companies of merchants, one residing in London and

the other at Plymouth, so that the benefits of the trade for which those companies were incorporated might be shared alike by the inhabitants of the east and west of England. The London company, by its location in the metropolis of the kingdom, possessed of course more means and larger resources, and obtained, in point of settlement, the start of the other. But the same John Smith, who had been so distinguished in the settlement of Virginia, had, in 1614, visited, for purposes of trade, the northern division of the territory, and gave, on his return to England, so flattering an account of the country, that Charles the First, then Prince of Wales, gave to it, as a token of his favor, the name of *New England*, which thenceforward superseded that of Virginia; — *New England*, a name still dear to our remembrance as a link of connection with the land of our forefathers, and of which, I trust, neither we nor our successors to the latest generation will ever have reason to be ashamed. It is a name peculiarly appropriate to that portion of the territory of this Union which yet bears it, and to the people by whom it is inhabited. The name of *Yankee*, sometimes given to them in derision, was, in its origin, but the Indian pronunciation of the word *English*, and, whoever may at any time incline to couple it with a sarcasm or a sneer, it is the genuine representative of many of the noblest qualities that elevate and adorn the human character. As citizens of the great community, we may cordially greet as fellow-citizens all whom the constitution and the laws entitle, of whatever lineage or descent, and whether entitled to them by birth or by adoption; but the name of *New England* carries with it a code of moral and religious principles, imbedded in the seminal institutions of our Pilgrim fathers of Plymouth and Massachusetts, pure from the fountain of human rights, gathered from the intermingling streams of *English* liberty, and as yet uncontaminated by any the remotest taint of slavery. *New England* is the child of that Puritan race, whom David Hume, with extorted reluctance, acknowledges to have been the founders of *all* the liberties of the English nation. “So powerful,” says Dr. Robertson,* “is the attraction of our native

* *History of America*, Book IX.

soil, and such our fortunate partiality to the laws and manners of our own country, that men seldom choose to abandon it, unless they be driven away by oppression, or allured by vast projects of sudden wealth"; and again, "Something more than the prospect of distant gain to themselves, or of future advantages to their country, was requisite in order to induce men to abandon the place of their nativity, to migrate to another quarter of the globe, and endure innumerable hardships under an untried climate, and in an uncultivated land covered with woods, or occupied by fierce and hostile tribes of savages. But what mere attention to private emolument or to national utility could not effect was accomplished by the operation of a higher principle. Religion had gradually excited, among a great body of the people, a spirit that fitted them remarkably for encountering the dangers and surmounting the obstacles which had previously rendered abortive the schemes of colonization in that part of America allotted to the company of Plymouth." He proceeds to remark, that the various settlements in New England are indebted for their origin to this spirit, and that in the course of his narrative would be discerned its influence, mingling in all their transactions, giving a peculiar tincture to the character of the people, as well as to their institutions, both civil and ecclesiastical.

The primary cause, then, of the various settlements of New England was religion. It was not the search for gold, — it was not the pursuit of wealth, — it was not the spirit of adventure. It was not the martial spirit of conquest, which animated our English forefathers to plant themselves here in a desert and barren wilderness, to lay the foundations of the mightiest empire that the world ever saw. It was religion. It was the Christian religion, purified and refined from its corruptions by the fires of persecution. The first colonists were, indeed, of that class of emigrants from their native land driven away by oppression; but in the settlements of Plymouth and of Massachusetts, the stern and severe impulses of religion were tempered by the tenderest and most attractive sympathies of *English patriotism*. The Plymouth colonists had been fugitives from the North of England, who from time to

time had escaped by crossing the North Sea to Holland, in numbers sufficient to form an English church at Leyden. They had fled from their country for the enjoyment of religious liberty in peace. But with that religion was inseparably connected the code of Christian morals in its simplicity and in its purity, — a code, above all others, resting upon the fundamental principle of the natural equality of mankind. The English Puritan found in Holland a refuge from the persecution of his own countrymen, but he found not his English home, he found not the same system of pure morals to which his soul was bound. In the lapse of time, he found that his children were leaving him and losing the name of Englishmen; and notwithstanding all that he had suffered from the injustice of his countrymen, so intense was his attachment to the name of England, that, interdicted as he was from returning to her bosom, he determined to seek, beyond the Atlantic Ocean, at the distance of three thousand miles, in the most desolate region of the new hemisphere, a spot of earth where he could make for himself an English home, and find or create in the wilderness a new England, as the only consolation accessible to his heart for the loss of the old. The same spirit is breathed in the address from the company of the Massachusetts colony, dated at Yarmouth, on the 7th of April, 1630, on board of the *Arbella*. In the fervent spirit at once of piety and of patriotism, they earnestly beseech their countrymen whom they leave behind to consider them as their brethren, needing their prayers for the successful accomplishment of their great and arduous undertaking; professing not to be of those that dream of perfection in this world, they yet desire their countrymen to take notice of the principals and body of their company, as those who esteem it their honor to call *the church of England*, from whence they rose, their dear mother, and 'could not part from their native country, where she especially resided, without much sadness of heart and many tears in their eyes. In these recorded monuments of the motives which prompted the Pilgrims, both of the Plymouth and of the Massachusetts colonies, in their emigration to this hemisphere, may we not clearly discern the peculiar propriety

with which the name of *New England* was given to the land which they were to inhabit? The profound sense of their duty to God, — the tender tie of affection for their native land, — the Puritan *moral* principle of equal and inalienable rights, — the secret, pungent, and only spur to their secession from that dear mother church whom they so dearly loved, and yet from whom with such agonizing tears they were compelled to part! O, how was it possible that this combination of elementary principles, swelling with an irresistible impulse to action in the bosoms of our patriarchal forefathers, could be so signally manifested and so deeply rooted in the hearts of all their posterity, and in the memory of all mankind, as by adopting for their country in the new world the name of that which had been the centre of all their affections in the old?

In all the colonial establishments of the European world in this hemisphere, there was a question of right by the laws of nature and of nature's God, which met the European adventurer as he landed upon the shore, — the proprietary right of the prior occupant. By the law of nature, independent of all revelation, and by the concurrent testimony of holy writ in the narrative of the creation, the earth was given by the Creator to the family of man for the purpose of improving the condition of its possessor, and power was given them over the lives of all other animals on the surface or in the bowels of the earth, in the bosom of the waters, or suspended in the sky. The Scripture says they were all given to man as articles of food, — but no such power was given over his brother man. As the exclusive possession of the portion of the earth occupied by man for tillage must be held by the occupant, at least for a season, the right of exclusive property becomes vested, — by the law of nature the *right* of the first occupant; and by the continuous labor of tillage from season to season, that exclusive proprietary right becomes permanent, and includes the right of inclosure and of exclusion of all other occupants. Unoccupied earth may be used by man for the pursuit of those animals given him by the Creator, for food or for pastime; but the earth cannot be used at once for the purposes of

the chase and of tillage, which cannot be commenced on any given portion of earth, until the animal occupants of its soil have been expelled. The European settlers on the territories included within the bounds of New England came from their Transatlantic homes as tillers of the earth. They came to hold the earth for tillage, and of course for exclusive possession. They found the country occupied by tribes of wandering savages, without permanent habitation, without exclusive occupation, using the ground not for tillage, but for hunting, and having therefore no exclusive right to the soil. The Indian savage used the earth only to range over its surface in search of prey. The European settler needed it for permanent and exclusive possession by tillage. These rights could not subsist together. By the law of nature, the right of each party was subject to the condition of operating no wrong to the other. The Indian savage was bound to renounce his right of hunting on so much of the ground as was necessary to the European settler for tillage, and the European was bound to make a reasonable compensation to the Indian for the extinction for ever of his right of hunting on those identical grounds. But the Indian hunter had no permanent right to the soil to renounce, and the European settler did him no wrong by assuming, after compensating him for his right of hunting there, exclusive possession of the soil to himself. Of the European settlers on the American continent, the colonists of New England were the first who ever held themselves bound to respect the right of prior occupancy of the Indian savage, and to purchase it of him for an equivalent. But the Indian could grant no more than he possessed, and with the exception of his wigwam, which had no permanent location, his only right was to hunt and fish within certain determinate metes and bounds. The whole territory of New England was thus purchased for valuable consideration by the new-comers, and the Indian title was extinguished by compact fulfilling the law of justice between man and man. The most eminent writer on the law of nations, of modern times, Vattel, has paid a worthy tribute of respect to our forefathers, for their rigid observance, in this respect, of the

natural rights of the indigenous natives of the country. It is from the example of the New England Puritans that he draws the preceptive rule, and he awards to them merited honor for having established it.

My Brethren of the Massachusetts Historical Society, the reputation of our forefathers is the choicest inheritance and the richest possession they have left us. The preservation of their good name from those slanders with which they were so bitterly persecuted, and so pertinaciously assailed in their own time, and which, passing from age to age, with a perseverance of envy and detraction, are yet showered upon them, is one of the preëminent duties of our society. If justice rules the ball, if communities are accessible to the chastisements of future retribution, there is a fearful account of wrong, of which the civilized white European will be responsible hereafter to the Indian races of this hemisphere for the balance. Nor is the account yet closed. We ourselves, assembled here, are yet witnessing, in silent acquiescence, a treatment of the Indian tribes cursed with our protection by the government of our national Union, — a treatment marked with perfidy as faithless, with oppression as grievous, with tyranny as inexorable, as ever presided over the conquests of Cortes or Pizarro. The history of our negotiations for the last ten or twelve years with the Indian tribes, and their result, present in sad relief the expulsion of the Southern tribes, not only from their hunting-grounds, but from their own domain; from the possession of the soil acquired by their conversion, at our instance and under our persuasion, from the hunter to the agricultural state. From their planted lands, from their comfortable dwellings, from their domestic hearths, and the sepulchres of their fathers, pledged by solemn treaties to their perpetual possession, they have been expelled by the rude hand of violence, and driven, like herds of cattle, to a common receptacle beyond the Mississippi, whence they are already threatened again with expulsion by their neighbours of Arkansas and Missouri.

It is not for us, therefore, to charge with injustice or cruelty towards the original inhabitants of this continent the Puritan English colonists of the seventeenth century.

The transition of an extensive region of the globe from a land of hunters to a land of planters is the metamorphosis of a wilderness into a garden. How pleasing to the imagination is the scene,—and yet how afflictive to the sense of humanity the process of the operation! The tenant of the wilderness must be dispossessed or withdraw; the game, which furnishes at once his subsistence and the occupation of his life, must be exterminated; flocks and herds of tame animals must take the place of the beaver, the buffalo, and the deer; and the tassels of the maize, the waving grass, the bean-pole and the pea-vine, must open their ripening fruits to the sun, on ground hidden even from the face of the hunter by tangled thickets, and gnarled oaks, and enormous hemlocks in thick array, standing as if in defiance of the genial influence of the sky. Yet, by some mysterious law of nature, man the hunter becomes, in the process of time, so attached to his condition, that he inflexibly refuses to change it; he perseveres in his roving pursuits of the chase; he refuses to erect for himself a permanent habitation; he neither tills the ground, nor attempts to tame the beasts of the field, or the fowls of the air, for his use; he has no genius for the mechanic arts; he has no relish for sedentary labors; he borrows occasionally from the civilized man a blacksmith to sharpen his tools, and exchanges his prey from the chase for the rifle, the powder, and the ball, more expeditious for his own work of destruction than his bow and arrow. He is formed for the wilderness, and the wilderness is formed for him.

The confederation, of which this day is selected as the two-hundredth anniversary, was formed between the four New England colonies of Plymouth, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Haven. The date of the act of confederation itself is the 19th of May, 1643; it was then subscribed at Boston, where it had been negotiated, by Increase Howell, Secretary of the General Court of Massachusetts, by John Haynes and Edward Hopkins, commissioners from Connecticut, and by Theophilus Eaton and Thomas Gregson from New Haven. The commissioners from Plymouth were Edward Winslow and William Collier; but although the confederation itself had

originated in that colony, and had been first proposed by her, she had not authorized her commissioners to conclude, without reference back to her own General Court, which was done, and at the second meeting of the commissioners, held at Boston in September of the same year, the commissioners from Plymouth presented an order of their General Court of 29th August, 1643, attesting that the articles of confederation were read, approved, and confirmed by the said court and all their townships, and their commissioners authorized to ratify them by their subscriptions, which they accordingly did on the 7th of September, 1643.

The parties to this confederacy were the colonies, 1st, of Plymouth; 2d, of Massachusetts; 3d, of Connecticut; 4th, of New Haven. 1st, *The Plymouth Colony* is remarkable for having furnished the first example in modern times of a social compact or system of government instituted by voluntary agreement, conformably to the laws of nature, by men of equal rights, and about to establish their permanent habitation as a community in a new country. Upon their landing at Plymouth, in the dead of winter, they had no charter from their king and no right to the soil upon which they landed.

The grants of rights and powers for the exercise of colonial governments in the colonies were in that age exercised by the kings of England. It was a branch of the royal prerogative, assumed, but never legalized. The right of conquering distant lands inhabited by infidels had grown an absurd and unnatural excrescence from the conversion of Constantine to the Christian faith. The words he had heard in his nightly vision of a crucifix surrounded with celestial splendors were, *Ἐν τούτῳ νίκα*,—*In this conquer*;—and the imposture itself of that pretended miracle affords evidence superabundantly that the impulse of Constantine to embrace the *Christian* religion was not the adorable doctrines and heavenly precepts of the meek and lowly Jesus, but worldly grandeur, imperial power, and dominion on the earth. The despotism of imperial Rome, engrafted upon the hierarchy of the church, formed the system substituted for that of *human rights*, under which mankind has groaned from the age of the Cæsars to this

day. Jesus Christ had said to the Apostle Peter, — “Thou art a rock, and upon this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.” Whatever power was conferred upon Peter by these words, it is subject to two restrictive conditions. First, the kingdom, the keys of which were promised to Peter, was not of this world. It was no grant of temporal power. And secondly, it was a grant exclusively to Peter, without any authority to him to devolve the same upon any other person, much less authorizing others to confer it upon his successors. Yet upon this airy foundation the church of Rome erected the most stupendous and unlimited engine of power, spiritual and temporal, that ever weighed upon the family of man. For the successors of Saint Peter assumed that all the kingdoms of the earth were to be made kingdoms of heaven, and that the persons and property of all nations not already subjected to Christianity were, by this donation of Jesus to Peter, placed at their absolute and arbitrary disposal. One of the most prominent exercises of this power was the bull of Alexander, the 6th of May, 1494, granting to Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain all the lands west of a line drawn from the south pole one hundred leagues west of the Azores and Cape de Verd Islands.

When the kings of England seceded from the authority of the church of Rome, they substituted themselves as heads of the church, and assumed all the authority over foreign and barbarous nations, for the purpose of converting them to Christianity, which had been assumed at any time by the bishops of Rome. They also *granted* the lands of foreign and barbarous nations (as were all those of the western hemisphere), without any restriction whatever in the exercise of power over their persons or their property. They held their own subjects engaged in such enterprises always and everywhere inalienably bound in allegiance to them, and declared them always and everywhere entitled to their sovereign protection. None of these transcendental and elementary questions of relative *right* and *power*

between the sovereign and the subject, and between the European adventurer and the indigenous native of America, appear to have arisen in the formation of any other colonies than those of New England.

The Pilgrims of Plymouth landed on a desert within the boundaries assigned by the charter of Charles the First to the Plymouth company; but they came not with license from the company itself. They came not even as English subjects, but as strangers, long exiled from her borders by the tyranny of her laws, seeking a place of refuge under the protection of another sovereign, but cast again by an accident, over which they had no control, upon the tender mercies of that ecclesiastical power from which they had already found no salvation but by escaping from their country. Without the shadow of blame upon themselves, and in the exercise of the purest energies that can direct and guide the conduct of men, they were outlawed both from England and from the Netherlands; and the social compact, signed on the deck of the *Mayflower* before their landing, was the necessary result of their situation as men in a state of nature, subject to no law but that which they consented to impose upon themselves.

In the establishment of the Massachusetts colony, an incident had occurred, which, whether intended by those who proposed and accomplished it, or merely projected for the special convenience of the emigrants, and afterwards accommodating itself to their condition and wants so as silently to effect a revolution, did certainly change the whole system of English colonization, and, by bestowing upon the colonies themselves an organization perpetually tending to independence, gradually predisposed the minds and measures of men to that final separation from the parent stock which it was impossible not to foresee must, in the lapse of ages, prove unavoidable. I speak of the transfer of the charter itself to America. Certainly nothing like this could have been contemplated in the original establishment of the company. That was instituted for purposes of trade, and of which the adventurers who furnished the funds would naturally choose to retain the management in their own hands. The charter

transferred to America was a constitution of government, and as such was always considered. It left the liberties and the actions of the settlers in the new country entirely under their own control, released from the humors and prejudices of a court of directors in London. Under that management, it would necessarily have followed that all the measures of the corporation would have been taken with final reference to the interests of the undertakers at home. It would have been a company to be enriched, and not a people to be governed. The change was a total one, a democratic revolution. By the transfer of the charter to America, the management of the affairs of a joint-stock trading company by its members was changed into the government of a people,—a pure democracy; and in the space of four years after the landing of John Winthrop and his company with the charter, the numbers of the colony had so much increased and their settlements had so expanded, that the natural result of a *representative* democracy forced itself upon them.

“Notice being sent out,” says Winthrop’s Journal (Savage’s Winthrop, I. 128), “of the General Court to be held the 14th day of the third month, called May (1634), the freemen deputed two of each town to meet and consider of such matters as they were to take order in at the same General Court; who, having met, *desired a sight of the patent*, and conceiving thereby that all their laws should be made at the General Court, repaired to the governor to advise with him about it. He told them, that, when the patent was granted, the number of freemen was supposed to be (as in like corporations) so few, as they might well join in making laws; but now they were grown to so a great body, as it was not possible for them to make or execute laws, *but they must choose others for that purpose*; and that howsoever it would be necessary hereafter to have a *select* company to intend that work, yet for the present they were not furnished with a sufficient number of men qualified for such a business, neither could the *commonwealth* bear the loss of time of so many as must intend it. Yet this they might do at present, viz., they might at the General Court make an order that once in the year a certain number should be ap-

pointed (upon summons from the governor) to revise all laws and to reform what they found amiss therein; but not to make any new laws, but prefer their grievances to the court of assistants; and that no assessment should be laid upon the country without the consent of such a committee, nor any lands disposed of."

To the remark upon this passage of the last editor of Governor Winthrop's Journal, that no country on earth can afford the perfect history of any event more interesting to its own inhabitants than that which is here related, I will only add that in this transaction, following, as by the providential agency of a law of nature, the transfer of the charter of Massachusetts to this country, are to be found the *primordia rerum*, the first elements of that great republican, democratic, confederated republic, destined to gather under the shadow of its wings, in its appointed time, perhaps the whole continents of North and South America.

The settlement of Connecticut was commenced in 1636 by Mr. Hooker, with detachments from the inhabitants of Newtown, Dorchester, Watertown, and Roxbury. They went out from the colony of Massachusetts and with some informal warrant from its magistrates, but their location was without the bounds of its charter. In 1631, the Earl of Warwick had obtained from Charles the First a grant of forty leagues of seacoast westward from the mouth of Narraganset River, which had been assigned to Lord Say and Seal, Lord Brook, and others, among whom were John Pym and John Hampden; and in 1635, a grant of sixty leagues of territory, including the Connecticut River, had been made by the council at Plymouth to James, Marquis of Hamilton; but in 1638, on the 14th of January, the inhabitants of the towns of Hartford, Weathersfield, and Windsor resorted to the usual expedient, of which the Plymouth pilgrims had set the first example, and formed among themselves a compact or constitution of government; "and well knowing where a people are gathered together, the word of God requires, that, to maintain the peace and union of such a people, there should be an orderly and decent government established according to God, to order and dispose of the affairs of the people at

all seasons, as occasion should require," — they did therefore "associate and conjoin themselves to be as one public estate or commonwealth, and did for themselves and successors, and such as should be adjoined to them at any time thereafter, enter into combination and confederation together to maintain and preserve the liberty and purity of the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, which they professed, and also the discipline of the church of Christ, according to the truth of said gospel as then preached among them; as also, in civil affairs, to be guided and governed according to such laws, rules, orders, and decrees as should be made, ordered, and decreed, as prescribed in the contract"; — that is, that two courts or assemblies should be held every year, at one of which election should be made of deputies and magistrates, and a governor to serve for a single year.

The colony of New Haven was settled by a company who came over from England to Boston in 1637. Its most prominent members were Theophilus Eaton and Edward Hopkins, merchants of London, and John Davenport, a minister, who, says Neal, came over with a very great retinue of acquaintances and followers. They would have formed a precious acquisition of strength to the Massachusetts colony, the General Court of which offered them a grant of any spot within their jurisdiction, upon which they could fix their choice. But the spirit of independence and self-government, so transcendent over all others among the Puritans of that age, and stimulated perhaps by personal aspirations of relative dignity and consideration, in the bosoms of the leading laymen, or of their spiritual guide, prompted them purposely to step beyond the jurisdiction of any charter, and to plant themselves in a valley where they might exercise the sovereignty of nature and establish a constitution of government founded on the solemnly settled principle, that the Holy Scriptures are the perfect rule of a commonwealth, and that the exercise of all the powers of government should be exclusively committed to the members of the church. Such a government they did accordingly institute.

These were the four colonies of New England united

in the confederacy of 1643. The existence of four distinct communities of men, associated together, each by a separate primitive compact, settled on a territory so small as that of New England, and all consisting of one small religious sect of Christians, seceders from the church of England, may well lead an impartial observer of another age to conclude, that, if the spirit, under the impulse of which they all acted, was conscientious, it was also contentious, — contentious far beyond the bounds of Christian charity. But there was yet another, a fifth New England colony, denied admission into the union, and furnishing, in its broadest latitude, the demonstration of that conscientious, contentious spirit which so signally characterized the English Puritans of the seventeenth century, the founders of New England, of all the liberties of the British nation, and of the ultimate universal freedom of the race of man.

The founder of the colony of Rhode Island was Roger Williams, a man who may be considered the very impersonation of this combined conscientious, contentious spirit. Born in the land of Sir Hugh Evans and Captain Fluelen, educated at the University of Oxford, at the very period when the monarchical, episcopal church of England was purging herself as by fire from the corruptions of the despotic and soul-degrading church of Rome, he arrived at Boston in February, 1630, about half a year after the landing of the Massachusetts colony of Governor Winthrop. He was an eloquent preacher, — stiff and self-confident in his opinions, ingenious, powerful, and commanding in impressing them upon others, inflexible in his adherence to them, and, by an inconsistency peculiar to religious enthusiasts, combining the most amiable and affectionate sympathies of the heart with the most repulsive and inexorable exclusions of conciliation, compliance, or intercourse with his adversaries in opinion. On his first arrival, he went to Salem, and there soon made himself so acceptable by his preaching, that the people of Mr. Skelton's church invited him to settle with them as his colleague. But he had broached and made no hesitation in maintaining two opinions imminently dangerous to the very existence of the Massachusetts colony, and certainly not remarkable for that spirit of charity, or

toleration, upon which he afterwards founded his own government, and which now, in after ages, constitutes his brightest title to renown. The first of these opinions was that the royal charter to the colony of Massachusetts was a nullity, — because the king of England had no right to grant lands in foreign countries which belonged of right to their native inhabitants. This opinion struck directly at all right of property held under the authority of the royal charter, and, followed to its logical conclusions, would have proved the utter impotence of the royal charter to confer powers of government any more than it could convey property in the soil. The other opinion was that the church of Boston was criminal, for having omitted to make a public declaration of repentance for having held communion with the church of England before their emigration; and upon that ground he had refused to join in communion with the church at Boston.

Other opinions, not less extreme, and shaking the foundations of human society, were laid to his charge, and were by him neither disproved nor disavowed. It cannot be surprising, therefore, that, at that period, the interference of Governor Winthrop and his assistants, by remonstrance or advice to the church of Salem, should have prevented his settlement there. He went to Plymouth, and was soon settled in the church at that place. They had not the crime of communion with the church of England, before their emigration, to repent of in sackcloth and ashes; and they had no charter the constitutional validity of which could be contested. But extreme opinions on principles of morals and radical abstractions affecting the origin and right of property are seldom solitary. Paradoxes are of a prolific breed; and Mr. Williams, popular as he always made himself in the pulpit, in the course of two or three years held forth doctrines producing dissension and discord in his Plymouth flock, from which he solicited a dismissal to the church of Salem, and it was granted.

Abstract truth, when coming into collision with human institutions, and asserted with eloquent lips, never fails to make its way to the heart of man. In the interval of Williams's residence at Plymouth, Mr. Skelton had died,

and his people, now in defiance of the remonstrances of the colonial magistrates, elected Williams for their teacher. His hostility to the foundations of the Massachusetts colony was neither confined to speculation nor merely defensive. It was altogether revolutionary. He denied utterly the validity of the colonial charter. He refused to take the oath of allegiance, and, in retaliation of the remonstrances of the Massachusetts magistrates against his election, and of their withholding a grant of a lot of land, for which his church at Salem had petitioned, he prevailed on that church to write letters of admonition and *accusation* against the magistrates to the churches of which they were members. This, in the temper of the times, could be considered in no other light than instigation to rebellion. At the next General Court, Salem was disfranchised till an apology should be made. This brought to a crisis the continued existence of the Massachusetts colonial government itself. The people of Salem submitted, apologized, and returned to their allegiance. The insurrection was subdued, tranquillity restored, — all was quiet, “*præter atrocem animum Catonis.*”

Williams had, by the subtlety and vehemence of his persuasive powers, prevailed upon Endicott to look upon the cross of St. George in the banners of England as a badge of idolatry, and to cause it actually to be cut out of the flag floating at the fort in Salem. The red cross of St. George in the national banners of England was a grievous and odious eyesore to multitudes, probably to a great majority, of the Massachusetts colonists; but in the eyes of the government of the colony, it was the sacred badge of allegiance to the monarchy at home, already deeply jealous of the purposes and designs of the Puritan colony. The charter itself was in imminent and daily danger of revocation, under the influence of Laud; and nothing could be more clearly indicative of a spirit of total independence than the exclusion of the cross from the colonial standard. At the next ensuing election, Endicott was left out of the magistracy, called to account before the General Court, and sentenced as for a great offence, — admonished and disabled for one year from bearing any public office; his judges declining any heavier

sentence, because they were persuaded he did it out of tenderness of conscience, and not of any evil intent.

Mr. Williams now, in the further indulgence of his conscientious contention, required his church to break off from communion with all the churches, not only of Old, but of New England. They were all unregenerate, and all communion of the regenerate with the unregenerate man was sin. His church staggered and paused. He gave them warning, that, if they would not separate from all contaminating communion with the unregenerate, he would separate himself from them; and the deed followed the word. He opened a conventicle in his own house, not unattended with followers, and quarrelled with his wife for persevering to worship with that church which *he* had excommunicated as unregenerate. Can we blame the founders of the Massachusetts colony for banishing him from within their jurisdiction? In the annals of religious persecution, is there to be found a martyr more gently dealt with by those against whom he began the war of intolerance, — whose authority he persisted, even after professions of penitence and submission, in defying, till deserted even by the wife of his bosom, — and whose utmost severity of punishment upon him was only an order for his removal, as a nuisance, from among them? They would have sent him to England for a trial far otherwise severe; but he escaped from their pursuit, and, after wandering a winter long among the Indian savages, whom he had attached to him by his reverence for their rights, he attempted first to make a settlement at Sec-konk, but, finding that within the Plymouth jurisdiction, finally alighted at a spring at the head of a creek beyond all the chartered grasp of civilized man, and called it PROVIDENCE.

And here it was that he finally obtained, by means of grants of lands from the Indians in that region and in the neighbouring island of Aquidneck, and lastly of a charter from the monarch of England, the occasion of establishing a colony upon his own darling principles of religious *toleration* and political *democracy*.

From the moment they were delivered of his presence, there appears never in the Massachusetts colony the slight-

est disposition to persecute or molest him. It was by the advice of Governor Winthrop, given in a private letter, and encouraging him from the freeness of the place from English claims or patents, that he steered his course to the Narraganset Bay. Winslow, from the Plymouth colony, visited him, and put a piece of gold into the hands of his wife for their supply. And in the Pequot war of 1637, the English of Massachusetts employed him to make a league, offensive and defensive, with the Narraganset Indians, which he accomplished.

The settlement of Roger Williams at Providence was made in 1636. The deed of the sachems, Canonicus, and Miantonomy, of his lands, was dated two years later, and contemporaneous with it to a day was their grant to William Coddington and his friends of the island of Aquidneck, afterwards, now, and for all future time, known by the honorable name of Rhode Island; the joint government of which, under the form of a perfect modern democracy, and by the name of the colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, was first chartered by the usurped authority of the Long Parliament, then deeply tinged with aristocracy by a charter from the restored Stuart, Charles the Second, and recently, by a fearful political convulsion, reinvested by her own people in the attributes of democracy, modified by her more enlarged existence as a member of this great North American Union.

At the formation of the New England union, this colony solicited admission to the same, which was refused unless they would submit themselves to the jurisdiction of the Plymouth colony, which they declined.

The union then consisted of four separate, independent communities, in a great measure self-formed; the vital principle common to them all being religious contention, — and the quickening spirit, equal rights, freedom of thought and action, and personal independence.

On the formation within our own times of the present North American confederacy, the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania assumed, as the motto to her arms, the words, "Virtue, Liberty, and Independence." Her neighbouring sister, New York, under a prophetic transport, prouder, if

not more sublime, assumed, as the emblem of her futurity, with the image of the rising sun, the aspiring, solitary word, *Excelsior*. Massachusetts, as if mindful of the whole history of her existence, from the tempest-tossed trials and dangers of the Mayflower Pilgrims till the consummation of her own social compact in her State constitution, borrowed from Algernon Sidney the profound thought, that the only end worthy of the nature of man, of a struggle for liberty, is the enjoyment of peace and quiet, and taught her sons to be ever ready to draw the sword in her defence.

The New England confederation originated in the Plymouth colony, and was probably suggested to them by the example which they had witnessed, and under which they had lived several years, in the United Netherlands. Edmund Burke has called the Puritan spirit the Protestantism of the Protestant religion. Set aside the contentious element in the religious fervor of the Puritans, and you perceive no more adequate motive for Mr. Hooker and his little flock to seek an independent subsovereignty beyond the Massachusetts charter at Hartford, nor for Mr. Theophilus Eaton and Mr. Davenport to step again beyond the bounds of the Connecticut settlement to erect a new commonwealth at New Haven, than there was for Roger Williams to set up his standard of free thought and democracy at Providence. One colony would, for all purposes except that of religious controversy, have been amply sufficient to cover the whole surface of New England; and far more efficient for self-defence against the formidable and ferocious enemies by whom they were surrounded. For at the north they had to contend with the pretensions of a French settlement of Acadia, and at the west with that of Canada, under grant from the kings of France; while at the south, in the immediate vicinity of Connecticut River, the Dutch settlers of the Manhadoes were already contesting the possession of it with them.

The Plymouth Pilgrims, from the time of their landing, lived for years in peace and harmony with the neighbouring Indians. The spot on which they built their town was, with regard to any right of occupancy or possession

by the Indians, a derelict. It was found a perfect solitude. The first Indian chief who came among them, in March, after their landing, Samoset, told them, says the relation of Mourt, that the place where they lived was called Patuxet, and that, about four years before, all the inhabitants had died of an extraordinary plague; and there was neither man, woman, nor child remaining; so that there was none to hinder their possession or lay claim to it. With the nearest neighbouring chieftain or sachem they shortly afterwards had friendly intercourse, and formed a league of amity. This was Massasoit, the chieftain of Massachusetts, with whom they continued in friendship throughout his life, and from him received the grants of lands as the borders of their settlements were enlarged. In the course of the first year of the colony, nine of the chiefs subordinate to Massasoit came in and acknowledged themselves to be the subjects of King James; but among them were at least some whose ideas of subjection were not very accurately defined, or whose principles of good faith were not very deeply seated in their souls.

The Plymouth Pilgrims had no ambition of conquest, and no purpose of injustice to the natives of this hemisphere mingled up with their migration for settlement. But the seeds of jealousy, hatred, and war between them had already been sown before their arrival. There had been, for several years, transient intercourse between the two races by the occasional visitation and landing of trading adventurers, French as well as English; and scenes of fraud, violence, and even bloodshed had embittered the passions of the Indians against the intruder upon his native soil. The country was besprinkled, it could not be said peopled, by scattered tribes almost always at war with one another. There were probably not thirty thousand of them dotting a surface of territory which at this day maintains a population exceeding two millions.

Of their numerous tribes of smaller account, whose names have scarcely been preserved, there were, besides those ranging over the domain of Massasoit, three, ever arrayed in hostility for mutual destruction, and whose existence, and combinations, and oppositions were equally

portentous of destruction to the infant colonies from Europe,—the Pequots, the Mohegans, and the Narragansets.

The first exterminating conflict of the races was with the Pequots inhabiting that portion of Connecticut where now stands New London, and along the borders of the Thames. The aggression and the first act of warfare came from them. The design of exterminating all the English settlements in New England was first conceived and matured by them.

In 1634, the master and crew of a trading bark from Massachusetts had been treacherously murdered by men of this tribe on the Connecticut River. They averted war to avenge this act, by alleging that it had been in self-defence, and by a deputation with presents and promises to deliver up the murderers. In 1637, after an abortive expedition under the command of Endicott, and the murder of John Oldham near Block Island, a joint force from Connecticut and Massachusetts, in one short campaign, by fire and sword, exterminated the Pequot nation, leaving scarcely a solitary remnant of them to tell the tale.

Such was the result of the first war between the colonists of New England with the Indians included within their borders. Its origin had been by the murder of individuals belonging to the Connecticut settlement. Its termination had been accomplished by the means of auxiliary force levied by the principal colony of Massachusetts. One tribe was exterminated. But all the colonies were surrounded and intermingled with others between whom and their people collisions of temper and of property were continually occurring, which threatened the existence of each of the separate colonies, and were daily maturing to a general conspiracy of the Indian tribes for the total destruction of all the colonies.

The course of events in the Pequot war had brought home to the feelings of the colonists, in the several establishments, the necessity of an organized union for the common defence against their numerous enemies, civilized and savage. When the first expedition under Endicott was despatched from the Massachusetts colony in

1637, Winslow was sent from the governor and council of Plymouth to treat with them about joining in it. The obvious and urgent motives to the union, and the difficulties to be adjusted in its formation, were then fully discussed; there was mutual apology and explanation to account for the fact, that there had not been earlier movements towards united exertions to meet the emergency of the time. Winslow had been instructed to propose that the parties should engage to aid each other *in all their occasions*, &c., which was declined for the present, — the government of Massachusetts preferring to reserve to themselves the right to judge the reasons of any such occasion as might fall out. They urged, however, immediate considerations to induce the Plymouth colony to furnish present aid, which the speedy conclusion of the war, however, rendered unnecessary; and as to the proffer of a permanent and general confederacy, they concluded to write further to them after the next General Court.

The extermination of the Pequot tribe struck such terror over all other Indian nations of New England, that several years passed away without further molestation from them. The region within the domain of Massasoit remained faithful to his engagements, and his followers never joined in any of the projects hostile to the colonial settlements. But the tribes in more immediate proximity to the Pequots, the Mohegans and the Narragansets, continued in a state of convulsive agitation. They had long been, with occasional intervals of quiet, at war with each other; there was a rancorous feeling of mutual hostility of long standing always stimulating them to war. Uncas, sachem of the Mohegans, had attached himself warmly, and as faithfully as the fickle character of Indian fidelity would admit, to the interests of the English colonists; and Canonicus, sachem of the Narragansets, from motives of policy, as well as from impulses of a better nature, though unable to preserve the peace between his tribe and the Mohegans, had, by concessions and submissions, averted the fatal enmity of the strangers from beyond the seas. His nephew, Miantonomy, repeatedly summoned to Boston to account for movements of ill-repressed hostility, and bound by acknowledgments of subjection and by

stipulations of peace with the Mohegans, under the umpirage and guaranty of the colonists, finished by a sudden and treacherous attack upon Uncas, in which, however, he was defeated, taken prisoner, and put to death.

The confederation of the New England colonies was formed. The motives for its formation are thus explicitly declared in the preamble to the eleven articles of which it is composed. "Whereas we all came into these parts of America with *one and the same end and aim*, namely, to advance the kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to enjoy the liberties of the gospel *in purity, with peace*; and whereas, in our settling (by the wise providence of God), we are further dispersed upon the seacoasts and rivers than was first intended, so that we cannot, according to our desire, with convenience communicate in one government and jurisdiction; and whereas we live encompassed with people of several nations and strange languages, which may hereafter prove injurious to us and our posterity; and forasmuch as the natives have formerly committed sundry insolencies and outrages upon several plantations of the English, and have of late combined themselves against us; and seeing by reason of the sad distractions in England, which they have heard of, and by which they know we are hindered both from that humble way of seeking advice and reaping those comfortable fruits of protection which at other times we might well expect: We therefore do conceive it our bounden duty, without delay, to enter into a present *consociation*, amongst ourselves, for our mutual help and strength in all our future concerns; that, as *in nation and religion*, so in other respects, we be and continue *one*, according to the tenor and true meaning of the ensuing articles.

"1. Wherefore it is fully agreed and concluded by and between the parties or jurisdictions above named (Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven), and they do jointly and severally by these presents agree and conclude, that they all be, and henceforth be called by the name of, *the United Colonies of New England*."

And now comes the act of sovereign power. "2. The

said United Colonies, for themselves and their posterities, do jointly and severally hereby enter into a firm and perpetual league of friendship and amity for offence and defence, mutual advice and succour upon all just occasions, both for preserving and propagating the truth and liberties of the gospel, and for their own mutual safety and welfare."

The third article is a mutual guaranty to each *jurisdiction* of all the settlements within its own limits, with a stipulation against the admission of any other jurisdiction, or the union of any two of the jurisdictions in one, without the consent of the rest.

The fourth provides that the charge of all *just* wars shall be borne in proportion to the *numbers* of male population from sixteen to sixty years of age, inhabitants of each jurisdiction. The commissioners for each jurisdiction were to bring in returns of their numbers and accounts of the charges of war, whether by service of men or otherwise; each jurisdiction or plantation to rate itself for the payment without the interference of the confederation; and the *advantage* of the war, whether in lands, goods, or persons, were to be divided among the confederates in the same proportions.

The fifth stipulates the manner of claiming and obtaining aid by each jurisdiction from the others, when invaded by any enemy whomsoever. Upon the notice and request of any three magistrates of the invaded jurisdiction, the rest of the confederates were forthwith to send aid in the proportion of one hundred men for Massachusetts to forty-five of each of the other confederates; the men to be armed and provided for the service and journey by their own jurisdiction, and, on their return, to be victualled, and supplied with powder and shot, by the jurisdiction which sent for them. Each jurisdiction might furnish voluntary aid to its next neighbour in completing their respective quotas; and at the first meeting of the commissioners, the *cause* of the war was to be duly considered, and if it appeared that the fault lay in the invaded jurisdiction or plantation, the whole charge of the war and of making satisfaction to the invaders was to be borne by the wrong-doers themselves.

In the event of a threatened invasion, any three magistrates, or two, if there were no more in the jurisdiction, might summon a meeting of the commissioners at any convenient place, whence they might remove to any other place at their discretion, to consider and provide against the threatened danger.

The sixth article was the constitution of the commission; two members from each of the four jurisdictions, all in church fellowship, with full powers from their several general courts respectively to *hear, examine, weigh,* and DETERMINE all affairs of war or peace, leagues, aids, charges, and numbers of men for war, division of spoils, or whatsoever is gotten by conquest, receiving of more confederates or plantations into combination with any of these confederates, and all things of like nature, which are the proper concomitants or consequences of such a confederation for amity, offence, or defence; not intermeddling with the government of any of the jurisdictions, which by the third article is preserved entirely to themselves. The agreement of the eight commissioners was sufficient for the carrying into execution any proposed measure; but the agreement of six required a reference to the four general courts; the unanimous concurrence of which was required for the prosecution of the measure by all the confederates. The commissioners were to meet once every year, the first Thursday in September, besides extraordinary meetings, according to the fifth article. The meetings to be held alternately at Boston, Hartford, New Haven, and Plymouth, but twice in succession at Boston. Some middle place, convenient for all the jurisdictions, might be afterwards substituted.

Article 7. The commissioners, or any six of them, were authorized at each meeting to choose from among themselves a president, whose office and work should be to take care and direct for order and a comely carrying on of all proceedings at the present meeting. But he had no power to hinder the propounding or progress of any business, or *to cast the scales*, otherwise than as above agreed.

The eighth article provides, first, that the commissioners shall endeavour to frame and establish agreements and or-

ders in general cases of a civil nature, wherein all the plantations are interested for preserving peace amongst themselves and preventing (as much as might be) all occasions of war, or differences with others, — as about the free and speedy passage of justice in each jurisdiction, to all the confederates equally as to their own; receiving those that remove from one plantation to another without due certificate; how all the jurisdictions might carry it towards the Indians, that they neither grow insolent, nor be injured without due satisfaction, lest war break in upon the confederates through such miscarriage. And secondly, there was a double provision for the delivery up of a fugitive servant, upon the certificate of *one* magistrate, or other due proof, and of criminal fugitives from justice, on the certificate of two magistrates; and if help should be required for the safe returning of any offender, it was to be granted to him that craved the same, he paying the charges thereof.

The ninth article cautiously guarded against the involvements of the confederacy in any hasty or inconsiderate wars, by a positive stipulation that neither of the four confederates should begin, undertake, or engage themselves or the confederation, or any part thereof (sudden exigents, to be moderated as much as the case would permit, excepted), in any war whatsoever, without the consent of the commissioners, or of at least six of them. And no charge was to be required of any of the confederates, in case of a defensive war, till the commissioners should have met and approved the justice of the war, and have agreed upon the sum of money to be levied, which was then to be paid by the several confederates according to the established proportion.

By the tenth article it was agreed, that, in extraordinary occasions of meetings of commissioners summoned by the due number of magistrates, if any of the members of the commission should fail to attend, four of them should have power to direct a war which could not be delayed, and to send for due proportions of men out of each jurisdiction, as six might do if all were present, — but not less than six should determine the justice of the war, or allow the demands or bills of charges, or cause any levies to be made for the same.

And finally, it was agreed that the confederacy should be perpetual, and that, if any of the confederates should break any of these articles, or be any other way injurious to any one of the other jurisdictions, such breach of agreement or injury should be duly considered and ordered by the commissioners for the other jurisdictions, so that both peace and the confederation might be entirely preserved without violation.

In the analysis of this institution, we perceive, first, the exercise of sovereign power in its highest attributes. It is a league offensive and defensive between four separate communities, independent of each other, for the management of their common concerns, involving peace and war, and all those relations of intercourse in peace with other tribes or communities in which the interest of all the confederates was concerned. Every other object of government was reserved exclusively to the separate jurisdictions. The distribution of power between the commissioners of the whole confederacy and the separate governments of the colonies was made upon the same identical principles with those which gathered and united the thirteen English colonies, as the prelude to the revolution which severed them for ever from their national connection with Great Britain. The New England confederacy of 1643 was the model and prototype of the North American confederacy of 1774. In neither of the two cases was the measure authorized or sanctioned by the charters of the several colonies parties to the compact. In both cases it was the great law of nature and of nature's God, — the law of self-preservation and self-defence, which invested the parties, as separate communities, with power to pledge their mutual faith for the common defence and general welfare of all. The New England colonists, conscious of this self-assumed sovereignty, expressly allege the *sad distractions* of their mother country, depriving them of her protection, and encouraging their enemies to combine for their destruction, as concurring with the other causes to impose upon them the duty of rallying all their energies for their own defence. The North American colonies, for the same assumption of sovereign power, appealed to their chartered rights as Britons, — and, finding that appeal

fruitless and vain, to their natural rights as men, bestowed upon them by their Creator at their birth, and unextinguishable by human hands or human institutions. The compact of the New England colonies, without the sanction of their sovereign, was yet not against him. The union of the North American colonies turned the artillery of sovereignty against the sovereign himself, and demolished the throne of the oppressor with ordnance drawn from his own arsenals.

The first of the reasons assigned by the parties to the New England confederacy for their *consociation* is the common purpose of their emigration from Europe and settlement in this hemisphere, — to advance the kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ, *and* to enjoy the liberties of the gospel in *purity, with peace*. This purpose was twofold, and necessarily imported a system of national policy, — the propagation of the gospel, bearing upon their relations with the aboriginal natives of the country, — and the enjoyment of their religious liberties, regulating their domestic relations among themselves, and their dependent condition on their sovereign and their country beyond the seas.

Neither of these purposes formed any part of the motives for the North American union of 1774. The propagation of the gospel in *New England* had, in the interval of more than a century, been consummated, so far as it was consistent with the wise purposes of Divine Providence that it ever should be consummated, partly by the conversion, but far more by the extinction, of the Indian race. In other and distant parts of our Union, we still continue to exterminate, under the semblance of civilizing and Christianizing the hapless remnants of the American hunters, of whom, within the compass of one more century, probably nothing will remain but a tradition.

The other object of the Puritan pilgrims, in departing from the land of their nativity and their forefathers to populate a wilderness, the free enjoyment of their religion, was fully and successfully accomplished before the occasion for the North American union arose. Religion had ceased to be the cause or even the pretext for wars between Christian nations; and the contentious spirit of

metaphysical casuistry no longer sharpened the discordant passions of man, when they turned to the primitive rights of man antecedent to all human association, and to the harmonious adjustment of the rights of persons and of property granted by the God of nature to his creature endowed with an immortal soul, perishable on earth, but destined to a purified nature and a more exalted world.

The New England confederacy was confined to the Puritan emigration from England. Its elements were all homogeneous in their nature, and its professed design to continue them *one* in political organization, as they were in nation and religion, was of no difficult achievement.

Yet the New England confederacy was destined to a life of less than forty years' duration. Its history, like that of other confederacies, presents a record of incessant discord,—of encroachments by the most powerful party upon the weaker members, and of disregard, by all the separate members, of the conclusions adopted by the whole body. Still, the main purpose of the union was accomplished. The concerted organization of the Indian tribes was counteracted and defeated for the space of at least thirty years, during which period the united colonies had been growing in strength, which brought them triumphant out of the fiery ordeal of Philip's war. Nearly contemporaneous with that event was the dissolution of the New England union. In the progress towards that issue, the condition of the parties to the confederacy had materially changed. The colony of New Haven had been voluntarily merged in that of Connecticut,—the high contracting parties had sunk one of their number. The commissioners were only six, instead of eight; and for the last twenty years, their meetings, instead of being annual, were held only once in three years. The final dissolution of the confederacy was effected by the tyranny of James the Second, in seizing and vacating the charter of the Massachusetts and Plymouth colonies; but even before that act, it would seem, that, for six or seven years, not even the triennial meetings had been held. The last meeting of the commissioners, as appears

in Mr. Hazard's excellent collection of their records, bears date in March, 1678.

Of the North American confederacy, self-constituted in the progress of the revolution which converted the thirteen English colonies into independent states, New England forms a constituent part,—at that time, perhaps, transcending in power and importance all the rest, but, in the gradual lapse of time, by the relative rapidity in growth of other parts of the Union, and especially by the accession of new members of different origin, now greatly reduced and daily declining in her influence as a component part of the Union. She has, indeed, in a great degree, insensibly lost her distinctive character; divided into six separate States, and covering a surface of territory and an amount of population scarcely equal to that of the single State of New York, the connection of her States has no closer cement of institution or of intimacy than with the other States of the whole Union. The intensely religious feelings and prejudices of her infancy have given way to universal toleration, and a liberality of doctrine bordering upon the other extreme of a faltering faith. New England, as a community, has, by her incorporation in the North American Union, lost her distinctive character, and, to a superficial observer, little remains of her but the name. As a portion of the great community of the North American Union, the unity and simplicity of her character, without being totally extinguished, have been transformed into one component part of a stupendous republican empire,—an empire already bounded only by the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, and, to the eye of prophetic inspiration, to be hereafter bounded only by the eternal ice of the northern and southern pole.

My Brethren of the Massachusetts Historical Society, we have been told that it was a day-dream of our Puritan forefathers, the first settlers of New England, that they were destined to be the founders of such an empire. The foundation upon which *they* held this edifice was to be erected was the natural equality of mankind, and the two eternal pillars upon which it was to stand were *civil* and *religious* liberty. The natural equality of mankind, a doctrine which they imbibed from the sacred fountain of the

Scriptures, taught in the history of the creation, and forming the foundation of the religion of Jesus, settled it for ever that this empire must be that kingdom of Christ against which the gates of hell shall not prevail. For this foundation, the natural equality of mankind, — and for these two pillars, civil and religious liberty, — the North American Union, to whatever extent of dominion and whatever succession of ages destined to endure, will be for ever indebted to the Puritan fathers of New England. Let our prayer ascend to Heaven, and our energies on earth be applied, to improve and perpetuate the blessings left by them as our inheritance

“To the last syllable of recorded time.”

MEMOIR OF JAMES BOWDOIN.

THE publication of the Winthrop Papers, which constitute a considerable portion of the present volume, furnishes a fit opportunity for paying a brief tribute to the memory of a gentleman who, for many years, was among the most active and valuable members of our society. These Papers were most carefully and laboriously copied, and prepared for the press, by Mr. James Bowdoin, and, since his death, have been communicated for the society's Collections by his brother, Mr. Robert C. Winthrop.

Mr. Bowdoin was the second son of the late president of this society, Lieutenant-Governor Winthrop. He was born in Boston, on the 23d of July, 1794; and after receiving his preparatory education, partly at the public Latin School in this city, and partly at Phillips Academy in Andover, was graduated at Bowdoin College in 1814.

Mr. Bowdoin was a lawyer by profession, having pursued his legal studies under the direction of the late Honorable William Prescott. Having received a competent fortune, however, from the relative whose name he bore, he soon relinquished the practice of the law, and devoted himself to pursuits of literature and science. He was particularly inclined to historical studies, and his private library was a rich storehouse of antiquarian and historical learning.

He was a man of retired habits and disposition, and shrunk from any public display of the rich qualities of mind and accomplishment which he unquestionably possessed. As a member of the State legislature for several

successive years ; as the secretary of the Provident Institution for Savings, as a director of the Asylum for Indigent Boys, and as a member of the school committee of Boston, he rendered valuable services to the cause of education, charity, and sound legislation.

But he devoted himself more especially to objects connected with the design of this association, and our Collections bear repeated testimony to the diligence and discrimination of his researches. No labor was too dry or too severe for his unwearied assiduity. The chronological index to the ten volumes of the second series of our Collections was wholly his work, and the general index of the last four volumes of the series was prepared by him in connection with a friend. He furnished to the second volume of the third series an elaborate account of some Parliamentary Journals which had long been the subject of interesting speculation in New York, in an article which affords an admirable illustration of the patience and thoroughness of his investigations.

Mr. Bowdoin had laid out many plans of literary and historical labor for enriching future volumes of our Collections. But disease and death arrested their execution. In the winter of 1832, he was compelled to abandon his pursuits and his home, and to seek relief from pulmonary affections in a milder climate. This relief, however, he was not destined to realize. A tropical air seemed only to develope his disease, and he died in Havana on the 6th of March, 1833, a few months only after leaving his native country.

Mr. Bowdoin died at the age of thirty-eight years ; but he had accumulated stores of learning which would have done credit to a long life ; and he will be remembered by many friends as a scholar, a Christian, and a philanthropist.

THE WINTHROP PAPERS.

I.

Rev. William Leigh to John Winthrop.

To the worshipfull his most loving Patron John Winthropp, Esq^{re} lying at the King's head neare the Conduit in fleete streete, in London.

Good Sir, it hath pleased God in his abundant mercie to make glad my heart with my wives safe deliverance, and with the gift of a son; who was born into this world the second day of this month, and was baptised the last Sabbath day, being named John. My father Raye, and my brother Leigh being Godfathers, and M^{rs} Winthrop, your wife, godmother — Of which mercie of God to me, I doe most joyfullie and as speedilie as I can, acquaint you; because I know you have laboured the Lord for me in prayer, for this blessing, and I yet praye you to help forward the joye of my heart in giving thanks to God for soe great a mercie. My wife is not so soare weakned of this child as she was on the last (blessed be God) but as yet she is not able to feele * her leggs to step from her couch to her bedd, but with help of others.

I prayse God all are in good health with us, that I know of, save only the young goodwife Cole who still increases in weakness; her payne that was lower in her bodie now running into her neck, and shoulders with verie great paynfullnes to her; and she is brought verie lowe in her bodie.

* This word looks like "seele," — and an old word "seel" means, to lean on one side. — J. B.

The Lord bless you in all your affayres, and make you returne prosperous: And I entreat you to have me commended to Mr John your sonn, and to be kindly remembered to your brother and sister Downing and to your brother and sister Phones [*Fones*], with thanks for their special courtesies offered me when I was last att London. My brother and sister have bene your guests all this time of their abroad att Groton—for the which favour, as for manie other, I desire to thanke you, and they both do desire to be kindly remember'd to you, when I should first write to you.

The Lord give us to heare comfortablie of the dissolving of the Parliament in this first session of it. The Lord alsoe follow us with his grace in Christ—and soe I rest

Your loving friend in the Lord,

WILLIM LEIGH.

From Groton—Maye 13. 1628.

II.

John Winthrop to Sir William Springe, Knight, in Suffolk.

Worthy Sir, and to me a most sweet friend.

I know not how to frame my affections to write to you. I received your letter, nay, merum mel non epistolam a te accipi. I am in suspense, whether I should submit my thoughts in the sweetness of your love, or sit down sorrowful in the conciousness of mine own infirmity, as having nothing precious in me, or any way worth such love or esteem;—But that which I have found from yourself, and some others; whose constance, and good trust hath made me some time proud of their respects, gives me occasion to look up to a higher Cause, and to acknowledge the free favour and goodness of my God, who is pleased to put this honour upon me (a poor worm and raised but yesterday out of the dust) to be desired of his choicest servants: I see his delight is, to shew the

greatest bounty where he finds the least desert, therefore he justifies the ungodly, and spreads the skirt of his love upon us, when he finds us in our blood unswathed, unwashed, unseasoned—that he might shew forth the glory of his mercy, and that we might know how he can love a Creature.

(Sweet Sir) You seek fruit from a barren tree, you would gather knowledge, where it never grew: If to satisfy your desire, I should bundle up all, that reading and observation hath put into me, they will afford but these few considerations—1. Joshua's (his) best piece of policy was, that he chose to serve the ablest master; Mary's, that she would make sure of the best part; and Solomon's, that he would have wisdom, rather than riches, or life: 2. The clear and veriest desire of these, was never severed from the fruition of them: the reason is clear, the Lord holds us always in his lap, as the loving mother doth her froward child, watching when it will open the mouth, and presently she thrusts in the teat, or the spoon: Open thy mouth wide (saith the Lord) and I will fill thee. O! that Israel would have hearkened to me, I would have filled them &c. O! that there were in this people an heart &c. O! Jerusalem, Jerusalem, how often would I have gathered thee &c. He filleth the hungry soul with good things. 3. even our Grace hath its perfection begun in this life: All true colours are good, yet the colour in grain is in best esteem, and of most worth: meekness of wisdom, poverty of spirit, pure love, simplicity in Christ &c: are Grace in Grain: 4. for all outward good things, they are to a Christian as the bird to the fowler, if he goes directly upon her, he is sure to miss her: riches takes her to her wings (saith Solomon) when a man pursues her: he that will speed of this game, must seek them quasi aliud agens, or (more freely) aliud cogitans. I have known when 3, or 4 have beat the bushes a whole day, with as many dogs waiting on them, and have come home weary, empty and discontented, when one poor man going to market, hath in an hour or 2 dispatched his business, and returned home merry, with a hare at his back: Of all outward things life hath no peer, yet the way to save this, is to lose it; for he that will

save his life shall lose it. Where is now the glory and greatness of the times past? even yesterday? Queen Eliz: King James &c—in their time, who but they? Happy he who could get their favour: Now they are in the dust, and none desire their company, neither have themselves one mite of all they possessed—only the good which that Queen did for the Church hath stamped an eternal sun-lustre upon her name, so as the Londoners do still erect triumphant monuments of her in their churches—If we look at persons of inferior quality, how many have there been, who have adventured (if not sold) their souls, to raise those houses, which are now possessed by strangers? If it be enough for ourselves, that we have food and raiment, why should we covet more for our posterity? It is with us as with one in a fever, the more nourishment we give him, the longer and sharper are his fits: So the more we cloy our posterity with riches (above competency) the more matter will there be for affliction to work upon: It were happy for many if their parents had left them only such a legacy as our modern spirit of poetry makes his motto, *ut nec habeant, nec careant, nec curent*.

I am so straightened in time, and my thoughts so taken up with business, as indeed I am unfit to write of these things. It is your exceeding love, hath drawn these from me, and that love must cover all infirmities. I loved you truly before I could think that you took any notice of me; but now I embrace you and rest in your love; and delight to solace my first thoughts in these sweet affections of so dear a friend. The apprehension of your love and worth together hath overcome my heart, and removed the veil of modesty, that I must needs tell you, my soul is knit to you, as the soul of Jonathan to David: Were I now with you, I should bedew that sweet bosom with the tears of affection. O! what a pinch will it be to me, to part with such a friend? If any Emblem may express our condition in heaven, it is this Communion in love. I could, (nay I shall envy the happiness of your dear brother B. that he shall enjoy what I desire—nay (I will even let love drive me into extacy) I must repine at the felicity of that good Lady (to whom in all love and due respect I desire to be remembered) as one that should have more part than

myself in that honest heart of my dear friend. But I must leave you all: our farewells usually are pleasant passages, mine must be sorrowful; this addition of, forever, is a sad close; yet there is some comfort in it — bitter pills help to procure sound health: God will have it thus and blessed be his holy name — let him be pleased to light up the light of his countenance upon us, and we have enough — We shall meet in heaven, and while we live, our prayers and affections shall hold an intercourse of friendship and represent us often, with the Idea of each others countenance. . . Your earnest desire to see me, makes me long as much to meet you: If my leisure would have permitted me, I would have prevented your travel; but I must now (against mine own disposition) only tell you where you may find me upon Thursday &c. It is time to conclude, but I know not how to leave you, yet since I must, I will put my beloved into his arms, who loves him best, and is a faithful keeper of all that is committed to him. Now thou the hope of Israel, and the sure help of all that come to thee, knit the hearts of thy servants to thyself, in faith and purity — Draw us with the sweetness of thine odours, that we may run after thee — allure us, and speak kindly to thy servants, that thou mayest possess us as thine own, in the kindness of youth, and the love of marriage — Seal us up, by that holy spirit of promise, that we may not fear to trust in thee — Carry us into thy garden, that we may eat and be filled with those pleasures, which the world knows not — Let us hear that sweet voice of thine, my love, my dove, my undefiled — Spread thy skirt over us, and cover our deformity — make us sick with thy love — Let us sleep in thine arms, and awake in thy kingdom — The souls of thy servants, thus united to thee, make us one in the bonds of brotherly affection — Let not distance weaken it, nor time waste it, nor changes dissolve it, nor self-love eat it out; but when all means of other Communion shall fail, let us delight to pray each for other: And so let thy unworthy servant prosper in the love of his friends, as he truly loves thy good servants S.* and B.

* Refers to Springe, to whom the letter is addressed. B. was Springe's brother B., mentioned on the preceding page. — J. B.

and wishes true happiness to them and to all theirs —
Amen. J. W.

London Feb^y 8. 1629.

[Endorsed, "Copy of a letter to Sir W^m Springe," in Governor Winthrop's hand. This probably the rough draft, or he was unable to send it, and wrote another. It must be borne in mind that Gov. W. expected daily to sail for New England, and had taken his final adieu of this friend and all others in Suffolk. Thursday, near the close, I suspect, refers to the day of sailing for Cowes. Vide another letter of Gov. W. to his son. — J. B.]

III.

Rev. Henry Paynter to John Winthrop, Jr.

To my worthily respected son Mr John Winthrop at the house of Mr Emanuel Downinge at the sign of the Bishop, in Peterborow Court neer fleet conduit — these.

Worthy Sir and my dear Son — I am very thankful unto you for your kind letter this week; but the news of your so sudden going away, makes us all sad for the present because we cannot be certain that we shall be able to get up unto you, that we might comfort our hearts together in one meeting again before your departure.

Yet write once more I pray you, when and at what very time (if it be possible) you take shipping: and when our worthy sister and you shall be in London—who knoweth how the Lord in his good providence may dispose of our occasions, and guide our journey that way.

I am not a little troubled that my hudled, hasty lines were so broken and obscure to occasion your mistakings in so many particulars. 1. It was much against mind to be altogether so troublesome unto you about the Lady Modye [*Moody*], and now your business is multiplied, I desire but only what standeth with your leisure — and I thought a word from you might the rather move her: You know there is a bond for ^{200li}₁₀₀ [?] upon my wife in your hand about it: and this was the money I meant in my letter — And the 2. mistake — I am very sorry you are not paid. We have both of us now written very effectually unto her.

She made a kind of promise to Edward Searle and therefore should be willing he might go to her again: But I would not include the letters in his but in yours. I should hope you might intreat M^r White of White friars out of term to speak to her, seeing her house is but in fetter lane, as I have desired him by letter and shall again by the next. And 3. I mentioned not that money as if I doubted of the disposal — for 125^{li} of was adventured — the rest bestowed in corn and sent with particular directions for the disposing of it: neither shall we in these parts be backward to further the plantation in any thing we may as opportunity may be offered hereafter (I know no one place better affected towards it) but used it only as a rash inducement to get some more particular informations from you touching the state of the place — The rather because I intend God willing to write by you, and hereafter to write you, and who knoweth who may also come at length unto you. But now I will not be over troublesome but content me with my daughter Winthrop's general report in her letter that you have very good news from thence, and your resolution for the journey assureth me. The Lord in mercy keep you and my good daughter, with all your company, our dear friends, and bring you safe to that place, and prosper you in it. I shall be ready to return you answer to your next letter, and so write to your good mother. We are in health, and intreat your prayers for us all and namely for,

Your father unfeignedly affected towards you,

HENRY PAYNTER.*

[Without date.]

IV.

John Humfrey to John Winthrop, Jr.

To his worthily respected and assured loving friend M^r John Winthrop at the Dolphin M^r Humfries house in Sandwich.

Deare Sir —

It much troubled mee I came away so hastilie and un-

* Mr. Paynter was one of the Westminster Assembly of Divines. See Calamy. — J. B.

happilie finding no so great cause at home my wife yet holding up. I much desired to see Mr Pierce and you aboard but the will of the Lord bee done as it is. I pray you remember mee in the most respective manner to your good mother your wife and Sister, I hope I shall in no lesse tender manner remember you to God, then I desire to bee remembred by you. I beiseech you rowle yourselves and your burthens and cares on him, the more you trust him and impose in an humble faithfulness upon him the more you glorifie him and the greater glorie shall you receive from him. I wish and hope you will have abundant experience of the inlargment of his grace in you and to you, in which I shall have as much matter of thankfulness as now of request on your behalfe. I must cast myself and mine in an especial manner under him upon yourself for directing and disposing of my servants and estate assuring myself of the reciprocation of that kind respect which in the most unfeigned manner I beare and owe unto you. I pray you let it not bee burthensome or greivous to you to doe for him as for your selfe who will bee readie to praefer you in anie thing within his power before himselfe. I must contract myselfe now unto you, desiring so much the more to enlarge myselfe unto the God of all grace for you in whome with my most kind respects and love unto you I rest

Yours, trulie assured and loving

J^o HUMFREY.

London August 18th 1631.

Mr Downing advizes by all meanes you should carrie good store of garlick to physicke your coves.

[This was written under the seal. — J. B.]

V.

John Humfrey to John Winthrop, Jr.

To his worthy and much beloved Mr Jo: Winthrop Junior
at Boston.

Deare Sir —

True love will fasten upon a small occasion and the

least opportunitie to have such fruition of the partie loved as our distance will affoord, so that I doe and may well want a head and time sutable to the affections and heartie desire I have to powre out my selfe unto you. Though wee yet cannot in possibilitie heare of your comfortable arrival yet I waite upon the God of all mercie and comfort, and kiss and embrace the comfort thereof afar off. The mercie I know will bee so apprehended by you, yours and all of us that must challenge a share and interest in you that (I hope) it will engage us and manie more in improving such means further to improve ourselves time and talents to his glorie who strengtheneth us (by so greatly desired favours) in our rejoycings to his service, and the sincere obedience of his will in all thinges. Sir, I presume I neede not so much excite you to a zealous contending to improve your pace, and reachings out to perfection, by the mercies you have receaved, as I neede (by touching a little upon the mercies in and to you and by you to others) to raise up some affections and expressions answerable to my true desires. And great neede I find hereof, having so much experience of my flashie hart, that some times I am enforc'd directly, sometimes by way of reflection to trie whether I can helpe my spirit in this duty, as now. It is a well knowne truth (oh that I could know it effective in meliorem partem) that those mercies to ourselves or ours which leave us not better, they certainly doe much worse, for as a christian cannot stand at a stay (for non progredi est regredi) so there is besides other sinnes, the capital guilt læsæ majestatis in not walking answerable to favours receaved. The smart of this, Hezekiah David and manie others of Gods dearest servants have found with the sad experience of. And indeede what follie is it for a man to bee so injurious to himselfe, that when hee knowes thankfulness and fruitfulness under mercies receaved as they open Gods hand more largely towards him, so they qualifie him more to a disposednes to receive and still to get more sweete in receaving (for there is an influence and sap in everie mercie which if the lord withhold, it is but the huske, or as the sedement of the mercie wee enjoy the spirit and the quintessence thereof being of infinitely greater vertue and vigour. And againe in deliverances

what is it to scape the beare and to fall into the paw of the lion, what to avoide the snare and to sinke into the pit, what is it to enjoy the utmost that created nature can afford in this world, and to loose (by resting herein) the creator of nature and of all comforts (For saith hee I the lord create the fruite of the lip^s &c thence flowe^s peace to him that is far of and to him that is neare. Hee can reach us at what distance soever yea and will, in riches of mercie to accept our least (if sincere) services and to fetch us in, if belonging to his election of grace how far remote soever; and on the other side his hand can easilie find out his enemies where ever they thinke vainely to shrowde themselves under anie false refuges. But oh the depthes of his wisdom and goodnes unto us whome by faith hee hath made heires of the promise, what hath hee seene in us that he should deigne an eye to behold us; but that he who hath the treasures of all happines in himselfe should account us his peculiar treasure, tender us as the apple of his eye, should make us his owne, and provide for us all good thinges (grace and glorie) and (as an overplus those inferiour comforts of this life, what hart can conceave or tounge of men or angels expresse the vastnes of this unlimited depth of love and goodnes which is without bottome or bancke. Soe that wee may well sit downe in a holie amasement, and wonder, and then out of the impressions of his goodnes cast about and thinke what shall wee render to the Lord for all his goodnes unto us. Trulie these thoughts had neede to take up our best intention, not onely as they are the best and chiefest fruite of saving grace in us, but as they are (as I said before) the shortest and most expedite way and meanes of elevating us into a higher degree of grace glorie and all manner of happines here and hereafter. Wee manitimes groape after happines in manie yea anie other wayes, which is to seeke the living among the dead, these fresh springing waters (which onely flow from under the sanctuarie) in dead and standing puddles. Wee exceedingly abuse ourselves, yea and abase our noble condition to stoope in a beggerly manner to borrow or seeke anie comfort in these sublunarie vanities with the neglect of that fountaine which puts what ever fulnes there is in these cisterne or

broken pit comforts; God is our roote, our foundation, our father, our fountaine rocke and magazine of all precious thinges, and how much to blame are wee when wee seeke to build upon a weaker foundation, that have one so firme; to draw sap from brambles that may from him; to come with cap and knee to the servant whereas his master is our father, to drinke of corrupted streames that may have immediate accesse to the well head, and to patch up a few comforts which yet (though wee prostrate ourselves to manie) will not make a garment large enough to cover the nakednes of the least part of our manie defects and our large-spreading indigencie. When as in him alone wee may have infinitely more then all that is contained within the circumference of the creature can afford. Let us then resolutely conclude with the Prophet it is good to drawe neare to God, yea so to draw neare as by our communion with him to draw all from him, to be wholie unto him, to acknowledge him in all our wayes as the great reward of good and rewarder of evill that so according to his never failing promise he may establish all.

But it is time to recall myselfe least these meditations carrie mee beyond my time, and make mee and themselves burthensome unto you. I desire a little bout with you and I conceive I could not have it more profitablie then by helping my selfe up the Mount with you. Now the good Lord reveale himselfe everie way unto you, shine upon you with a loving countenance, breath a blessing upon all your holy endeavours, sanctifie you throughout in your whole soule bodie and spirit, continue you a blessing with your familie to this worke of God, and at the end crowne all your holie and faithfull labours with himselfe who is the fulnes of glorie. To his grace I commend you and all yours, wife mother sister^s all, to whome I desire in particular to be remembred in the bowels of the tenderest affection in Christ Jesus in whome I am

Your most assured and trulie desir[ing]

JO: HUMFREY.

London Nov^r 4.

If in anie thing my people have neede of your love and you can steede them and mee by your direction and

helpe I doe not so much desire as upon you
though I doe both.

[Labelled, "M^r John Humfrey, (rec'd May 1632)."]

Upon the back of this letter is the following memorandum in the handwriting of John Winthrop, first governor of Connecticut:—
"M^r Vassell—Cozen Forth—M^r Humphrey—M^r Kirby—My uncle Downing—Aunt Downing—Cozen Clarke—M^r Howes—Uncle Gostlin—S^r Archisden—M^r Gurdon—M^r Jacye—M^r Rob^t Gurdon—M^r Richard Saltonstall—Father Painter—M^r Chambers—Sir Hen: Mildmay—D^r Wright—Rob^t Geldston—Cozen Mary Downing."

S^r before Mr. Archisden's name refers to his degree of A. B., I believe. There is a peculiarity in this letter; instead of writing the plural *s* as is usual, Mr. Humfrey places it thus, "lip^s" instead of "lips." Sometimes he does so with the singular of a verb, as "flowe^s" for "flowes." I have spelt as he has throughout.—J. B.]

VI.

Francis Kirby to John Winthrop, Jr.

To his very lovinge and much respected friend M^r John Winthrop Junior this deliver in Nova Anglia—in Charlton [*viz.* Charlestown] per a friend whom God preserve.

Laus Deo—in London 26^o 10bris [December] 1631.

My very lovinge and no lesse loved friend: harty salutations to your selfe and seconde selfe with my respects to your good Father and mother for whom as also for the rest of your company I do and shall daily implore the aid of the Almighty: We have taken notice of very boisterous winds we had immediately after your departure from our Coaste (*res est solliciti plena timoris amor*) We have no hope to hear from you untill the returne of M^r Pierce from Virginia whom we expecte *siccis faucibus*.

I desire to acquaint you with such occurrants as may be newes to you whether forreine or domesticall. I received a letter dated in August last from Newfound Land in the Bay of Bulls aboard the William and Thomas rideinge there to take in fish and is bound for Genoa—my friend writeth that the ships company goinge on shore to

cut timber did accidentally set that woody country on fire which had then burnt 20 miles alonge and that they had no likely hood to quench it untill rayny weather come.

Captain Bruton who was imployed by my cozen Moris Thomson and company for the trade of bever in the river of Canada is now arrived heer haveinge been since at St. Christophers for a freight of tobacco, he hath brought in heer about 3000^{lb} weight of bever, and they are now hasteninge to set forth a small ship only for that river hopinge to be there before Captain Kerke whom (I hear) is to fetch his men from Quibeck and yield up the Castle againe to the French this next somer. For German newes, you shall understand that Swedens kinge hath been very succesfull. The duke of Saxon who all this while hath been a neuter is now forced to take up armes and crave the aid of Sweden; for Tilly did set upon his choise towne called Lypswicke [*Leipsic*?] and tooke it, but kept it not many daies before he with the helpe of the kinge regained it and gave him battle about 2 english miles from Lypswicke, slew about 15000 of the imperialists tooke much munition and with the losse of about 6000 of their owne, since that he hath taken Norenberghe and Frankford and lefte soldiers in them both. We hope that God will make Sweden an instrument for the fall of Antychrist. I find noted in the margin by the Geneva translators Revel^{us}; 17. 16. that divers nations as the Gothes, Vandals and Hungarians who were subject to Rome shall rise up to destroy the whore — Sweden is kinge of Gothes and Vandals. A little of Greenland newes because it may make some what for your encouragement who may sometime possibly adventure upon discovery where bread is not alwaies to be had, for therein you may see it is possible to live without bread by Gods blessinge upon the fleshe of beares and foxes &c. 8 English men wintered there in the latitude of $77\frac{1}{2}$ and are returned home all in good likeinge, they lived from August untill June without bread or other provisions then what they killed and the fritters or rather fragments of the whales out of which they had tried oile and cast them to the dunghill the somer before. They lost there passage by reason of misty weather.

Thus with our earnest praiera to the Almighty for you
all, I rest

Your ever loving friend

FRA: KIRBY.

[Labelled, "rec^d June 1632."]

VII.

Rev. Thomas Archisden to Edward Howes.

To his much deserving friend M^r Edward Howes at M^r
Downing's in fleet street by the Conduit these dl.

It was the 29th day of this month before I arrived at
Cambridge haven and I am again bound for Suff: within
this day or two—the occasion of it is this. M^r Jacy who
is M^r Gurdon's chaplain unexpectedly was sent for into
his own country and it will be about six or seven weeks
before he returns whereupon I being then in Suff. was
earnestly requested to supply his place whereunto I did
assent. I knew it would be some trouble to me but being
in some respects obliged to them I dared not to shew
myself so disrespectful of them as to give a denial—M^r
Gostlin with all his family are in good health. I preach-
ed at Groton the last Lord's day being overswayed with
their entreaties—I preached also at Waldingfield parvâ
the same day, but at night having been unaccustomed
to such exercises I was almost quite tired. I received
your letter: I am glad to hear of that news whereof you
writ unto me. I have not heard as yet from Anthony.
If you please the intercourse of our writing need not be
hindered—there is one goodman Gifford who cometh
weekly to spread Eagle—it is not far from the Bull—he
useth to come by M^r Gurdon's: Our College is now
about enlarging our College with the addition of a new
building—the charges of it will come to a 1000^{li}—they
have the money out the College treasury: I pray remem-
ber my service to M^r and M^{rs} Downing—give them
many thanks from me for their kindnesses to me: remem-
ber [*my entire affection to M^{rs} Mary **], my hearty love to

* This is erased by a more modern pen.—J. B.

all the rest — Thus also not forgetting my obgement to yourself, I alway remain,
in all readiness to gratify your kindness.

T. A. [THS. ARCHISDEN.]

From Cambridge Jan^y 30. 1631.

[Upon the outside are these words in the handwriting of Ed. Howes: — “This letter is from M^r Archisden-I pray view the other and if you think good seal it up and deliver it according to the superscription of it; otherwise lacerate or inflame it as you please.” It evidently refers to the above erasure, which is made with the same ink, I believe, as this note of E. Howes. The letter to which E. H. refers was possibly, I guess, an offer of hand and heart to Mrs. Mary. *But who was she?* Perhaps John’s sister, who married Samuel Dudley, and had come over with her mother and brother. — J. B.]

VIII.

Edward Howes to John Winthrop, Jr.

To his very loving friend M^r John Winthrop at the Governour’s house these dl in Mattachusetts Bay in New England

mitte mihi litteram per primū nuntiū quæso.

Gaudium meæ vitæ

As the fear and love of God is the beginning of true wisdom; so the virtue derived from that wisdom maketh love eternal, which virtue in you hath kindled such a fire of true love in me, that the great Western Ocean cannot quench, but maugre all opposition it shall be with you wheresoever you are, while the possessor thereof hath being: I am and must be yet confined within the limits of my native soil, because God’s time is not yet, but when the time is accomplished that I must depart, who shall resist his will? M^r Arkisden and I do now and then intertchange letters, He in his last promised to send letters for New England but I have not heard of him this three weeks. M^r Lee is come from St. Christophers very poor — He hath lost all his time and voyage, I hear he hath a desire to go for New Eng^d — his wife and he are come from Groton. Common Garden near the strand is converted to a market Town with a church

in it — about 50 brick houses are built already — A wonder that a plantation should be made between the Court and the City that should extend itself to the skirts of either — I hear it must be called Bedford Berry, it looks more like Ba Bell, I pray God it prove to Be Better : I could say more ; but here is enough to contemplate on — Never was known more building of houses and repairing of Churches, yet weekly some poor or other die starved in the streets — Here hath been some lately executed for Quoyninge [*coin-ing*] silver and gold. Other newes I have not instant, but there is expected great good or evil this summer in these parts of the world : God will have his work done by us, or upon us ; I have not yet attained to the perfection of the medicine, I do much want my beloved friend's help and company ; she hath more patience than I, and a more quick apprehension to discern ; I cannot express the strange condition I have been in since I lost both your companies ; and had it not been for the good of the Plantation, and for your sake, I should have used my best rhetoric to have persuaded her to stay here — I thank God I am yet and I hope to continue (for many years) a single man, untill I may enjoy her, whom my heart may love as itself : Thus desiring you to remember my humble service unto your father and mother my much honoured friends, with my respective love to yourself, your wife, your sisters both, not forgetting my quondam bedfellow James,* with the rest of my loving friends ; I rest

Yours till death E. H.

7^o Martij. 1631.

I pray tell “gooddy” Scarlets son the letter he sent his mother, I found lately in our house, which I intend God willing to get conveyed this week to Karsey by some clothier.

* James Downing. — J. B.

IX.

Edward Howes to John Winthrop, Jr.

To his worthy friend M^r John Winthrop the younger at Boston in Mattachusetts Bay or elsewhere these dl in New England.

Salus in Salvatore nostro —

Optatissime Amice optame

I cannot but upon all occasions salute you with mine indeared love and respects; these letters from M^r Arkisden I received very lately. I was afraid they would have been left behind. According to your appointment and upon my desire, I thought good to entreat you to acquaint me with some particulars of your country; viz^t how far into the country your planters have discovered, 2. what rivers, lakes, or salt-waters westward, 3 how far you are from Hudson's river and from Canada by land, 4 what are the most useful commodities to send over to traffick with the Indians or amonge yourselves; 5. what kind of English grain thrives with you and what not; and what other things you please; daring not to trespass any farther upon your gentle disposition, only be pleased to send a map or some description of your land discoveries— For you know well the cause of my desire to know New England and all the new world, and also to be known there, yet not I but Christ, in whom I live and move and have my being. My Master hath sent my most honoured friend your father, a sword in a walking staff, which he forgot to mention in his letters. M^r Winslowe hath it; who I doubt not will deliver it. Thus concluding with our last and freshest news here inclosed which my M^r sends to your father, I take my leave to rest

Yours and ever yours

E. HOWES.

26^o Martij 1632.

[This, written nineteen days after the foregoing letter, came by the same ship. Labelled, "Edw. Howes rec^d Jun. 1632."]

X.

Edward Howes to John Winthrop, Jr.

To his worthy friend M^r John Winthrop the younger at
the Massachusetts Bay These d^r in New England.

Such is the force and effect of true love (my beloved freind) that it accounteth noe paines too much, and all tyme too little, in performinge the offices, and duties, of deserved respect: I havinge sent some bookes to James Downinge with a letter dated the 3 of Aprill, beinge incited thereunto by his father; your demeritt claimed parte of my paines, and soe greate a parte, that had I not written by M^r Wilson unto you my selfe would have exclaimed against my selfe, and at the barre of conscience have adjudged me a traytor to the bond of amitie; and lyable to the livinge death of a Turtles solitariness that hath lost her mate; I know not of M^r Wilsons going over till within this two dayes, soe that I had delivered a packett of letters unto M^r Humfries to be sent by this ship unto you, one whereof was a letter unto your selfe, another to your beloved wife, another to your sister Eliza; and two to James—with your oyle of vitriole you left with me; I hope God will send all in safety unto you; and retorne unto us joyful newes of your recovery; and of your perfect health; In James letter I mentioned 2 or 3 thonges of a horse hide that I sent you I pray you contemne not the meanesse of my conceit but consider that I hearinge your father writt for shoemakers thridd, I sent you those for a tryall, therefore let not the servilenes of the worke prejudice your good opinion of me, but knowe my aimes is and ever was at the generall good of your whole plantation; which I hope to live to see, and see to flourish and to remaine till tyme shall have an end with me—

Your assured E. HOWES.

3^d April 1632. 12^o hor: noctis.

I sent your honored father a booke of bookes among those to J. D: if he have them alreadie, yet my good-will is nere the loser, if they should not be soe welcome as I desire I beseech him to excuse my boldnes, for my heart

is still as upright to your worke as ever, as soe till death shall continue (*Deo juvante*). I have heard diverse complaints against the severitie of your Government especially Mr Indicutts, and that he shalbe sent for over, about cutting off the Lunatick mans eares, and other grievances; well, I would and doe desire all things might goe well with you all — but certainly you endeavour in all mildnesse to doe Gods worke, he will preserve you from all the enemies of his truth; though there are here a thousand eyes watchinge over you to pick a hole in your coats, yet feare not, there are more with you than against you, for you have God and his promises which if you stick to, be sure all things shall worke together for the best, when you have leasure spare me two or 3 wordes of your minde in what Character you please, that I may solace myselfe with your contentation, or helpe to beare the burthen, if not redresse your grievances, and soe I leave you to God, with my respective salutations to all my friends.

My father mother and sister desired to be remembered unto you.

[Labelled, "rec^d June 1632."]

XI.

Edward Howes to John Winthrop, Jr.

To my much esteemed friend Mr John Winthrop the younger at the Massachusetts Bay these d^r New England.

Noble Friend —

I havinge the 14th of this Aprill received of Mr Barker a letter from your sister myne approved friend, and Mr Drake calling this morninge to see if I had any letters, (he preparinge to goe for Pascatawa and for you) I thought good to let you understand hereby that God hath still lent me life and health, the same I hope of you. I pray you thanke your sister for her remembringe of me (Mr Arkisden thinks you have all forgotten him) and tell your sister I shall endeavour to observe and performe those good in-

structions she sent me. I accidentally this morninge or rather by Providence lighted upon my bookes of the ordringe of silkwormes which I could wish with you, for I heare you have store of mulberie trees— Doe but send for them if they wilbe any way proffitable or desirable I will with all convenient speede send them: I have lately come to my hands (made by an excellent scholler and linguist)* an English written Accidence and grammer of such a rare method that it is admirable to conceive, which hath beene in obscuritie at least this 14 yeares; and by a speciall providence come to my hands I hope for the good of New England, and the speedy bringinge of English and Indians to the perfect understandinge of our tonge and writinge truely, and speaking elegantly, alsoe I have of the same mans invention a booke of Characters, grounded upon infallible rules of syntax and Rhetorick. I would gladly print them that they might be the better dispersed amonge my friends with you, but that I doubt the mallice of some evely minded may hinder, or take them from me. If you thinke good I will send you some of the chiefest grounds and rules for a tryall; I conceive it sufficient to teach the Indian children only to read English and to knowe none other, because they may not imagine there is the same confusion of tongues amonge Christians as there is amonge them. Mr Drake stayes soe that I cannot enlarge. Thus with my continued respects and love to you and all my friends till death, I remaine,

Your lovinge friend till death E. HOWES.

Peterborough Court 20th Aprill 1632.

[Labelled, “ rec’d by Mr Drake August 1632.”]

XII.

John Humfrey to John Winthrop, Jr.

To his worthily respected good freind Mr John Winthrop junior at Boston or elsewhere in Mattachusetts Bay.

Deare Sir — I sent you a “ ward’e ” Sword as a pledge

* A prophet hath small honour in his owne contrie.

of my love by goodman Greene passenger with M^r Grant. I pray you doe mee such loving offices as occasion may inable you further to oblige your all readie engaged freind especiallie put your father in mind to answer two particulars of his letter from mee, which you may see and so know how to bee helpful to mee therein. I pray you commend my kind respect to your good wife mother and sister — So leaving newes and busines to other letters which I know are full of satisfaction in that kind with much respect I rest your trulie loving and much desiring
Jo: HUMFREY.

London June 21th 1632.

[Labelled, " M^r Humfries — rec^d Sept^r 17. p. M^r Peirse. "]

XIII.

Francis Kirby to John Winthrop, Jr.

To his very kind and much respected frend M^r John Winthrop the younger at the Mattachusetts in New England, this deliver — per M^r Pierce whom God preserve.

Laus deo in London 22^o Junji. 1632.

My kind and much respected freind, I hartily salute you hopinge of your good health the recovery whereof I desire siccis faucibus to hear of. You shall God willinge receive per this bearer M^r Pierce 2 great drie fats marked as in the margin [I. W.] At the motion of my brother Downeinge I willinly condescended (if not boldly intruded) myselfe to be a third partner with him and you in this parcell of goods, which is such wares as your father gave advise for and I have endeavoured to get good and as good cheap as I could, The cloth was provided by my brother Downeinge and M^r Smith the tayler, and it is such as Master Winslow did buy heer to trucke with the natives — for the rest of the wares if they be not well bought I only must be blamed. You shall find in one of the fats a book sent by my brother Downeinge to his son for his diversion to keep a marchant's booke and therein also some letters you shall find, and 2 paper bookes for

the keepinge of this partable account, the lesser for a memoriall wherein you may write as you shall buy sell or barter, and the broader may serve to post it into by the way of debitor and creditor if you be so skilfull, but for my part I shall be carefull to keepe all things right and straight heer though in a more rude and playne method, for want of skill. The Commodity to make returne of I suppose will be bever, it beinge almost the only Commodity of that Contry and therein your skill may be lesse then mine, a word therefore of direction will be requisite. Note that there is great difference in bever although it be all new skins, for some is very thicke of lether and thin of wool which is best discovered by layinge your fingers on the middle or backe of the skin, 1 pound of deep wooled skins may be worth 2 pound thin wooled skins — Mr Pierce brought a parcell for his owne account which was much of it of that bad sort he offered it to mee for 12sh. per lb and I hear he hath now sold it for 11sh or 11sh. 6d at most — Also note that the old Coates are better by a third part then new skins are, partly for that they generally dresse the best skins for that purpose, partly for that the lether is thinner and so consequently lighter by dressinge, and partly for that the coarse haire is partly worne of from the wool, but I pray be carefull that you take not old worn otter skins or coates for bever, for they are nothing worth if they be so much worne that the glossy top haire is decayed, but there are some good otter skins in Cotes 5 or 6 skins in a Cote, which are sowed together with the tailes on and beinge not perceived to have been worne but by the soylinge of the lether and beinge very black and glossy may be worth 50sh. per Coate or 10sh. per skin. You may know the otter skin from the bever partly by the fabricke, for the otter is more longe though the taylor be of, and the wooll is more short and of even haire, the glossy haire not much exceedinge the wooll in length, but the coarse glossy haire of the bever doth more over-top the wooll and is more straglinge and more wild. I have sent you some paternes of old otters for your better information.

For newes, the most is of the successfull kinge of Sweden who hath now taken all Bavaria. Ingelstad did hold out the longest but is now lately taken. Also the

prince of Orange hath gotten a stronge towne in Gelderland called Vanlo, a towne of great consequence for that through it the Spaniard did convey all his provisions up into Germany. Also he hath taken the halfe of a towne in Clevelant called Mastich, but not the other halfe it beinge divided (as it seemeth) by a river, and this taken with some difficulty for Grave Ernste was slayne there and some other Commanders of the Hollanders. I earnestly desire to receive a letter from you of the Contry and your condition there, which I shall receive I hope per M^r Pierce, if not before. I pray remember mee to your second selfe your good father and mother your sisters brethren my Cosen James with all the rest of mine and your friends. We must intreat you take care of these goods and dispose of them. You may employ my Cosen James in it so far as you thinke fit, but as yet I thinke he is unfit to take the sole charge of them. I pray make no bad debts, but rather keep them till you can have mony or comodity for them.

The 2 drie fats containe as followeth.

	li	sh	d
400 paire of shoes cost 2 ^{sh} 4 ^d per paire is	46	13	4
but the shoemaker abated in the whole	0	15	0
so we paid for them		45	18 4
18 ^{li} shoe thrid at 1 ^{sh} per pound did cost		00	18 0
5000 large hobnailes at 2 ^{sh} per thousand cost		00	10 0
10,000 midle sort at 13 ^d per thousand cost		00	15 0
10,000 small sort at 1 ^{sh} per thousand cost		00	10 0
16 peeces of cloth whereof 1 is white and 15 coloured cost all		51	0 0
they contain 13 yacards in a peice and is about 3 ^{li} 4 ^{sh} per peice or 5 ^{sh} per yard.			
20 ^{li} of Browne thrid and black at 2 ^{sh} per li. cost		02	0 0
2 payre bookes cost		00	02 0
2 fats with nailes to head them cost		00	15 3
paid for cartage to the water side		00	01 2
paid for freight to M ^r Pierce		06	00 0
		108	09 9

[Labelled, "rec'd per M^r Pierce Sept^r 17. 1632."

Memorandum on letter, — "Sandeveer, or sal alcali — barrells. a barrell of sope-ashes. $\frac{1}{4}$ 100 of tinne : $\frac{1}{4}$ 100 copper."]

XIV.

Francis Kirby to John Winthrop, Jr.

To his much respected friend Mr John Winthrop the younger at the Massachusetts in New England this deliver.

London this 25th of November: 1632.

Good Sir

I received your longe expected and very welcome letters (dated the 2^d July) about the last of August. I am glad to heare of your safe arrivall, your health, and good likeinge of the Contrie. I wrote you per Mr Pierce who departed this Coast in July last by whom I shipped to you 2 drifats of goods to the value of 110li. or thereabout as per those letters will appear. It was par-table between my brother Downeinge, your selfe and my selfe most of it was goods and coarse cloth to trucke, such as my brother Downeinge had advise for. I hope you have received them ere this time — We expect Mr Aler-ton shortly by whome we hope to heare of Mr Pierce his arrivall with you.

I have shipped in this ship called the William Mr Tryvore beinge Master and Mr Hatherly cheef Marchant, 2 square cases of deale with the glasses accordinge to your direction, together with 2 hogsheads and 1 barrell of your fathers with such goods as your father wrote for as per my brother Downeing's letters, to him will appear. The glasses whose cases cost in all 1li. 16sh. 11d the freight will make them dear to you, if the freight be paid hear it shall all be put together upon your fathers account and you may allow it unto him, I doubt not but you will agree upon the division of it. For the Catalogue of bookes from Frankfort I have sent you that of Autumnall mart 1631. the next is not to be had the third not yet come by reason of Contrary wind, but I shall send it God willinge by the next ship, and so likewise hereafter — for your mony of Edward Howes I have received part and the rest he saith he will pay to mee shortly. I heare not any thinge of that from Mr Goslin yet — I should be glad to heare that these glasses come

whole and safe to your hands, I have written glasses on the outside of the Cases that they in the ship may be the more carefull of them sed quales sunt nemini dixi. I pray let me receive a letter from you by every ship, although it be but 2 lines it will be very acceptable.

Postscript 28^o I have now received all your mony of Edward Howes which maketh in all 4li. 12sh. for the bookes and carriage of them. It is now generally reported that the Kinge of Sweden is slayne, we have little other newes, what is I doubt not but you have it at large per my brother Downeings letters and Ed. Howes. Mr Hatherley telleth mee that I must pay the whole freight before hand and that he will have for the 2 Cases as much as 13 hogsheads which at 4li. per ton is 3li. if you will not have the freight put all together upon your fathers account and the charge of shippinge it (which can not be knowne soone enough for my brother Downeinge to send account of it per this ship) then I pray write me your mind per the first and I will divide it and put to your particular account. I pray remember me to your good father and mother, your good bedfellow, your sisters, brethren, James Downinge and the rest, whom all I commit to the protection of the Almighty and rest

Yours at Command

FR: KIRBY.

[Labelled, "rec'd Feb^y 23^d 1633."]

XV.

Francis Kirby to John Winthrop, Jr.

To his very lovinge and much respected frend Mr John Winthrop the younger this deliver at Boston in the Massachusetts bay in New England.

Laus Deo in London 27^o 9bris [November] 1632.

My good frend, hartly salutations &c: These may let you understand that I have shipped in the William of London per Mr Hatherley 5 peeces of goods that is to say 2 hogsheads and 1 barrell with goods of your fathers as per

my brother Downeings letters will appeare and 2 short cases of deale boards accordinge to your direction with glasses. Of which I have also written you more at large in another letter per this same ship. We desire to heare of M^r Pierce his arrivall with you per whom I also shipped to you 2 great drifats of goods to the value of 100^{li} and upwards. I have received yours only of the 2 July. I have little newes to write, only a great battell fought between the kinge of Sweden and the imperialists neer Leipswich, greater then that there about 12 months since, for divers have written that were slayne of the imperialists about 40,000 and of the Kings about 20,000, but some write that the Kinge is slayne in the battell, others that he is sore wounded and that Walestein is fled and Pacxenham slayne. When I knowe more certainly I will write you per the first opportunity — in the mean time let us hope the best. To your good father, mother, your second selfe, sisters, brothers, and to my Cosen James Downeinge salutem meis verbis dic. Thus with my harty praiers to Almighty God for the continuance of his favours to you all I rest

tuus dum suus — FRA: KIRBY.

[Labelled, "rec'd feb^r 23."]

XVI.

Francis Kirby to John Winthrop, Jr.

To his good frend M^r John Winthrop junior this deliver.

London this 3 of 10ber [December] 1632.

Kind Sir: Yours of the 19th 7ber [*September*] per M^r Fogg I received wherby I understand of M^r Pierce his arrivall (deo gratias). As for the retorne of that comodity per M^r Pierce we do not expect it so sodenly, sat cito si sat bene, and whether the profit shall be more or lesse it shall give content to the new marchants, when it cometh; the successe whereof we must commit to the providence of the almighty. Your inclosed I delivered to M^r Chambers;

also those into flit street. I have written you more at large per M^r Hatherley who his now redy to go to Gravesend. With this I enclose the Catalogue of the last vernall mart,* the last autumnall is not yet to be had. Thus with mine my wives my brother and sister Hills harty salutations to yours I rest in hast Yours

FRA: KIRBY.

[Labelled, "rec'd Feb' 23^d."]

XVII.

John Humfrey to John Winthrop, Jr.

To his worthyly respected M^r John Winthrop Junior.

Deare and Desired Sir

I cannot but write though I can but barely tell you I am thankful for you, and trulie these newes of all occurrences and the sad turning of thinges I know you have from abler handes. In a word I beeseech you pardon and accept my unfaigned affection in this hastie Salute, You have my hart to which I set my hand

Yours, lovingly obliged

Jo: HUMFREY.

Lond: Dec: 3: 1632.

In consideration of my short letter I hope my brother Gunner hath paide you with 2 long.

[Labelled, "M^r John Humfrey (rec'd Feb. 23.)"]

XVIII.

Edward Howes to John Winthrop, Jr.

Worthy Sir

Your letters by M^r Allerton and M^r Pierse I received: as for the cement I know none as yet worth sending the receipt unto you — The letter I received by M^r

* This refers to the Leipsic fair of books. Vide a preceding letter. — J. B.

Pierse was soe rinsed with sea water I had much adoe to reed it: I thanke you heartilie for them; and that in the midst of your greate ymployments you wilbe pleased to remember your poore and unworthie friend. Sir I am glad and exceedingly rejoyce at your prosperitie, and the prosperitie of the whole colonie, and that it hath pleased God to shewe his power and mercie upon you all, in a wonderfull manner, beyond the expectation of the greate one of this land, in deliveringe you not from a Spanish pouder plott, nor an accounted invincible Armado; but from a Spanish like French Infection,* which was like to have tainted the haylest and best man amongst you yea all of you, as may appeare by the writtings and letters written with myne own hand, and sent to your father my honored friend. In brieft I hope herein the Divell hath vented all or most of his mallice against your state: Oh the goodness of our Lord God that hath wrought such goodnes as you shall enjoye, out of so apparent evils as you had like to have felt; † but I leave to comment upon this subject (though I could a longe tyme) leavinge it for you who I knowe will not spare whole dayes and nights to meditate thereof. Sir I am the more sensible hereof, in regard I was a daylie and hourly auditor and spectation of all the passages, which hath caused me to take it into consideration, that your plantation hath need of some hartie and able friends to back you upon all occasions, which must remaine here; and have friends a Courte; I though not soe able as I could wish (if God sawe it good) yet as hartie as the best, consideringe M^r Humfries preparation for departure, and my masters ‡ desire and resolution to be with you, have betaken my selfe now at last to the studie of the Lawes, and to that purpose have admitted my selfe as a student of Cliffords Inn by St. Dunstons Church in fleete streete, and am about to purchase a chamber there. Not that I meane absolutely or presently to leave my M^r but to enable myselfe to leave when he is gone, and to re-

* Are those infectors like to escape the like shame and punishment. Noe we hope to pendere Gardiner ere long &c. Vide, tace.

† You had bin utterly overthrown had not God, as it were wrought a miraculous deliverance; for it is in diverse mouths that you are; and your plantation and planters hath often lately bin preached against at Paul's Crosse &c — Vide, tace.

‡ Quere, Herbert Pelham? — J. S.

tire my selfe in the vacation tyme to my studie which shall ever tend to the utmost of my poore abillitie to the good and welfare of your plantation and state.

I have since heard, that some of your noble and best friends desire, that you might have a Councell here established of some choyce friends, to stand an answeere for you upon all occasions. It becomes you now to knowe your selves to be statesmen; and to studie state policie, which consists principally in Prevention of evils and inconveniencies: if it please you to peruse any bookes of that subject, I shall endeavour to fitt your turne and send them by the next ship after.*

I have heard by M^r Higinbotham and others that your ministers preach one against anothers doctrine; which I conceive to be a great scandall to your Societies, and if not reformed in tyme, may prove as fatall as the Congregations of Ainsworth and Johnson, which in their owne dayes begann, flourisht, and came to nothinge; but I am persuaded better things of you; and hope your differences are but ceremoniall matters. I besich you Sir to excuse me (if out of the aboundance of my hartie affections for your welfares, I transgresse the bounds of ordinary matter, You knowe God is a jealous God; and desires integritie of harte; he is a spirit, and wilbe worshipt in spirit and truth: I would have you feare nothinge more then securitie, and carnall confidence; I meane the most parte of you. I have heard of many of your Collony, that saye with the Pharasie Stand further off I am more holy then thou: Gardiners relation too much, but not all that I have heard — They cannot be content to talk largely, but write † to their utter ruine (if they take not heed) for tyme to come, for let them be assured, theire letters will come to light that write against our state civill or ecclesiasticall, and the star-chamber hath punishments for such lybellers, and a long arme to reach them, and God will not defend them that resist the higher powers ‡: Sir I verilie perswade my selfe

* God gives us the meanes to work by; if we reject the meanes, we reject the good will of God &c.

† A letter hath bin seene from one of your planters, who warneth England to be babil and Sodome, and that it should shortly fall; &c I am furnished coppies of 2 or 3 of such letters; which I intend to send you, that you may beleive it; and inflict some punishment on the offenders; that others may beware.

‡ Exempli gratia Rochell. Vide, tace.

you have many of weake Judgments amongst you, on whom it were good your ministers tooke a little paines, that they might be rectified; I sawe lately a sentence of your owne writinge viz^t *Canis dum captat &c** which may not unfity be applyed to them, whoe medlinge with shadowes to them, other mens matters, may state matters, loose their substances; and sometimes drowne themselves irrecoverable; As the dog did.

I have not heard from M^r Eustace the Germaine since he went hence I feare much he is slayne in the last great Battell with the King of Sweden. I shewed him many kindnesses to win him to returne but he said he would not retorne except he sawe a letter from the Governors owne hand, with promise of increase of his wages. I have sent M^r Samford the Instrument and sight ruler the Germaine bespoke for him, together with a booke to teach the use thereof, namely Smyths Arte of Gunnery at folio 58 there the same Instrument is to be seene; I have likewise sent him Nortons Practise of Artillerie chosen by the Germaine for him; and alsoe diverse platformes of the latest invented forts and fortifications: For new bookes I writt to you of D^r Fludds works and sent you a catta-logue of them by M^r Hetherley; there is a booke lately come out of mathematicall conclusion and recreations, which I bought purposely for you, but M^r Saltonstall hath borrowed it, and is now at M^r Gurdons to maffie M^{rs} Merriall; albeit I have sent you two other bookes viz^t Malhus Fireworks, and the Horizontall Quadrant full of new devices; which I present to your kind acceptance; and because I knowe you are tam Marte quam Mercurio: I have sent you a short weapon, you may call it an Irish Skeyne or knife or what you will †; together with a small sawe and steele hammer, and a bodkyn and a forke all in one case: the usefull applycation of each I leave to your discretion.

M^r Arkisden is at M^r Gurdons — he presents his service to you, but hath written soe lately to you and being constrained to be very studious at this tyme he desires ex-

* *Fabula at vera.*

† They are bound up with halfe a dozen knives for M^r Samford, in M^r Maries chest.

cuse: yet I have made bold to send you here enclosed his last letter written to me, that you may perceive he is both well and thrives in his studies &c. We keepe the strictest Lent that ever was; we have not one bit of flesh in the house as your Cosen Mary Dow can informe you. I thought good to advertise you of a discourse I lately heard, that the Leprosie is caused by eating too much fresh fish; for in Scotland where they eate much fish there is more Leapers then in all Europ besides, as is said. We have a Mountebanke does strange feats and cures here openly on Tower hill upon a stage, and in Comon Garden, and in St. Bartholomews. I bought pence worth of his stuffs for the Master of the Wards; and alsoe a paper or two more for your good father viz^t his antidotes against poyson &c.* which you shall receive of your Cosen Mary. I pray present them unto him as a small testimonie of my humble service and willing mind to appeare before him in a greater good; as God shall fitt and enable me.

Remember my humble service likewise to M^{rs} Winthrop your good mother: M^r Audley of the Courte of Wards desired me to remember him to M^r Governor Winthrop and often asketh me how he doth; I should be glad to bringe the old Batchelor to bestowe 1000£ or 2 on your plantation for he can very well spare it: I perceive he hath a mind to doe good, but it must be in a course wherein he may have some certaine profit in recompense of his costs: M^r Fabian M^r Paise and M^r Windover, alsoe desire to be remembred and aske me often howe your father and his companie thrives: generally all that knowes him wishes him well; and the most prophanest that I heare speake of him, doe but pittie him; for selling soe good an estate here; for want and penurie in New England: † It is the opinion of all strangers that knowe you not, that the most of ye are starved, and the rest are cominge home againe: I have my mothers good will nowe to goe over when I will; ‡ My father and she and my sisters desire to have their kindest loves remembred unto you and to your good wife and sister Feaks — soe doth the scribe, as alsoe to your sister Dudley, and her husband, your two Brothers and M^r James Dow;

* There is a paper about every one to shew the use of them.

† None wishes him evil, but all well.

‡ It was since my admittance.

and all other lovinge Friends I commit you to the Lord
almighties tuition and rest

Yours ever assured

EDWARD HOWES.

[ED. F. HOWES?]

18 Martii 1632.

I conceive you were best to direct your letters for me
to my Masters or at my Fathers house neere Lincolnes
Inne in Chancery laine ; for my Master is about to remove
his dwellinge very shortly into the strand neere the Mas-
ter of the Wards. Vale in Christo, Vide et tace.

[From this letter, it seems Mr. Howes was a student in Mr. Hum-
frey's office (?) — J. B.]

XIX.

Edward Howes to John Winthrop, Jr.

To my approved lovinge friend M^r John Winthrop the
younger at Boston these d^r in Mattachusetts Bay.

London March 25. 1633. post horam 10^{am} noctis.

Sir

Although I have bin very large in my letters dated the
18th of this instant, yet can I not chuse but let love
breake forth a little more, even now when the ship is
under sayle. Yours of the 29th of September I received
per M^r Allerton and the other of the 24 of october 1632 I
rec'd per M^r Pierse. Your cosen Mary sent away her
Trunke a fortnight agone, to the shipp without my knowl-
edge, soe that I am much straightned for place to stowe
the things I intended to have sent over ; I lent her my
sea chest to put her other things in, but can hardly have
roome to putt in my letters, The chest I desire M^r Samford
may keepe for me untill I come over. There are honest
men about to buye out the Bristoll mens plantation in
Pascataque, and doe purpose to plant there 500 good peo-
ple before Michelmas next — C. Wiggen is the chiefe Agent
therein. There was presented to the Lords lately, about
22 of C. Indicutts lawes : You have bin at the Ile of Rae

[*Ré*], and at Rochelle, a poore people that lye nowe in the dust, had they bin alive nowe, their harts would have leapt within them to see howe theire kinge favours the Protestants. *Fælix quem faciunt aliena pericula &c.*

Ad Populum] God is the God of love, and love is patient — be not too hastie, a slowe pace goes farre: I could wish myselfe with you but for $\frac{1}{2}$ an houre, to expresse my mind, my feare I meane, but the only wise God I hartlie and humblie beseich, make you wise in all things, that you may joy the $\heartsuit$ of

Your ever vowed E. H.

I have sent you a booke of the lawes established for Virginia (by your Cosen Mary.) I pray you present it to the view and perusal of my most honored friend your noble father, together with my humble service to him and your good mother. Sir, I pray present my loving respects to my reverend and worthy friends M^r Wilson and M^r Welles [*or Wellids*] And excuse me to your Sister Feakes my loving friend that I writt not unto her; I pray thanke her for the letters she sent me dated the 4 of July 1632. I had not a letter by M^r Pierse from any one but from you and that hardly to be read: I pray sent me a description of the discordy of Patowneck if you have it, and what other novelties you shall thinke fit.

M^r Rich: Saltonstall is returned unmarried. I saw him by chance last night at Sir Richards. Vale in Christo.

26 Martii. 1633.

E. H.

[Labelled, " per M^r Rose rec'd June 1633."]

XX.

Francis Kirby to John Winthrop, Jr.

To his very lovinge and much respected frend M^r John Winthrop junior this deliver at Boston in New England.

Laus deo in London 26^o Martij 1633.

Most lovinge frend, yours of the 24 October per M^r Pierce I received but it havinge suffered shipwrack on the coast of Virginia it was hardly legible. I am very

glad to hear of your welfare with the recovery of your second selfe from her late sharp fit of sicknes. I understand how you have dealt with M^r Pinchen for the cloth which bargain is not amisse, but may produce reasonable profit if he deall well with you in the condition of the bever that he shall deliver to you, which you shall easily discerne if you remember my instructions in those letters to you per M^r Pierce. For the shoes your father wrote to my brother Downeinge that they are most of them Calves lether — sure I am that I paid for neats lether and they were waranted to mee for such and still he doth stand to justifie the same still and saith if I can procure a certificate under the hands of M^r Cottington and M^r Nowell that they were not all neats lether I shall have recompence to my content, therfore I pray let them be viewed by some that have skill. His name of whom I bought them is M^r Jo: Hodson [*or Rodson*] in Gracechurch street. I hope ere this time you received the 2 great glasses per M^r Hatherley in the William who went hence in December. I received the 4th 12sh. of Ed. Howes, also now 5th of M^r Gosslyn, I received none of my brother Downeinge, for you, neither had I any occasion for it seing I cannot find all the things you wrote for. Sope ashes are not to be had, for there are none come of late yeares out of the East, they beinge now out of use with the sopeboylers who use only pot ashes, I have sent in a paper a little pot ashes for a paterne. For old musket barrels I can find none that will be sold by weight unles it be some very smal and short peeces and of that there is no quantity to be had, for other that are past use they peece them up againe and make them saleable and will not sell them by waight. I have enquired concerninge ruffe barils unbored — musket bore ruffe unbored may be had for 8sh per barill 4 foot longe of two inche bore 4 foot long ruffe and unbored 16sh. or thereabout. I perceive it is not usuall with them to forge any so big which causeth to aske so dear, for they must make or alter some tooles for the purpose and so must be paid extraordinary unles they make a great many; I pray if you send for any write me justly what length and in every respect your minde very playne, least I do you a displeasure against my will. I pray excuse me if I have mistaken

any thing in this your commission for the incke is washed of in many places of your letter, so that I do but guesse at your meaninge, and if I have erred in buyinge what you intended not it is error amoris, non amor erroris. I hear there is one at Wappinge that can forge barils of 3 inch bore but I have not yet spoken with him, and he forgeth small ordnance. I have sent you heer inclosed the Catalogue of the Autumnall mart 1632. all the former I have sent before. I have no newes to write you. There hath not been any great exploits done in Germany since the death of the kinge of Sweden. How it fareth with our republique and of the occurrents in Court and Contry is safer to be related by those that come to you then to be committed to paper. Your frends heer who are members of your plantation have had much to do to answer the unjust complaints made to the kinge and Councell of your government there. I understand that you are an Assistant and so have a voice in the weighty affaires of that Commonwealth. I know I shall not need to advise you that the prayinge for our kinge be not neglected in any of your publike meetings, and I desire that you differ no more from us in church government, then you shall find that we differ from the prescript rule of Gods word, and further I meddle not. I have sent you in this ship (wherein my Cosen Mary Downeinge and Susan and M^r Cottington are) all the thinges you wrote for, except old musket barils and sope ashes, if I be not mistaken in readinge your letter. The particulars you shall find on the other page, they are packed with other goods which I bought for your father at my brother Downeings instance, in one great long chist and one little barrill, also there are directed to your father 2 tronkes and a little trusse which my Cosen Mary Downeinge knoweth how to dispose of. M^r Pierce will be redy about the last of may as I suppose per whom I intend to write although I have no business more then si vales bene vales. I desire to be remembered to your second selfe, your father, mother, brethren and sister, also to M^{rs} Feake and thus for this present I commit you to the Almighty his protection and shall ever rest,

Your assured lovinge frend

FRA. KIRBY.

	li	s	d
Sandiver 2li. and Soda 3li.	0	5	6
Stone blewinge 14li.	0	10	0
brimstone 1li. weight	1	3	4
Copper $\frac{1}{4}$ c.	1	10	4
Tin $\frac{1}{4}$ c.	1	8	0
Canarie seeds 3 pintes	0	0	9
	4	17	11
paid before for the glasses and the charge of packinge them and for 3 Catalogues of bookes	1	18	5
	6	16	4
Received in all	9	12	0
paid in all	6	16	4
	2	15	8

You shall receive for your father in the same chist and barrells, which my brother Downeing will put to his account

2 dosen howes—20^{li} white coperas—6 shorlinge sheep skins—30 lamb skins—1 dosen sithes, 1 hatchell for hemp, with 2 other little tooles of iron used about the streighteninge of the teeth when they are bowed and driveinge them out, other tooles are none used about dressinge hemp unles some beetles of wood or such like which to send from hence were but to charge you with unnecessary freight, every contry houswife can direct your carpenter to make them.

1 hatchell for flaxe with 2 brushes, 6 felling axes, 20 sutes of Canvas, 20 sutes of Cotton, 10 dosen Irish stockings.

[Labelled, "rec'd June 1633. per M^r Rose his ship (mony to M^r Howes — otter skins)."]

XXI.

Francis Kirby to John Winthrop, Jr.

To his much respected frend M^r John Winthrop junior,
this deliver.

March 26. 1633.

Most loving frend I received your letter (which had

first been washed in the sea) per Mr Pierce whom it pleased God to preserve though with the losse of the ship and all the goods on the Coast of Virginia. I have sent you in this ship such thinges as you wrote for packed with other goods of your fathers marked as in the Margent in one great long chist and 1 little barill, also there are 2 trunke and 1 little trusse of Canvas directed to your father, of which my Cosen Mary Downeing will give further direction. I have written you in another letter of the same date and in the same ship more at large of many particulars; what the occurrents are heer you shall understand per your friend Mr Cottington who cometh in this ship. The old musket barrills are not to be had, neither sope ashes. I have sent the sandiver, soda, stone blewinge, brimstone, copper, Tin and Canary seeds. The quantity, price and account you shall have in my other letter of this date more at large specified. I desire to be remembered to your consors tori, and to your good father and mother and the rest, for whom as for myselfe I shall daily pray for both temporall and eternall felicity and Thus in hast I rest

Your ever lovinge frend,

FRANC: KIRBY.

[Labelled, "per Mr Rose his ship."]

XXII.

William Hilton to John Winthrop, Jr.

To the worshipful Mr John Winthrope the younger at Agawam give these.

Pascataque April 18. 1633.

Ser —

There arrived a fishing ship at Pascataque about the 15 of this present moneth wherein is one Richard Foxwell, who hath formerly lived in this Cuntery — he bringeth nuse [*news*] that there were tow [2] shipes making ready at Barnstaple whoe are to bring passengers and catell for to plant in the Bay he hath leters for Mr Wearom [*War-*

ham] and divers others at Dorchester, which he intends to bring in to the bay so soone as possible he can—likewise he heard from M^r Alerton, whoe was making ready at Bristoll for to come for this cuntry—other nuse he bringeth not that I can heare of onely M^r Borowes purposeth to come for this cuntry from London and so desiring you to convey thes leters into the bay with what conveniency you can beseching the Lord to bless you in your lawfull designes I humbly rest

Your worships assured to command

WILLIAM HILTON.

Ser—I purpoe eare [ere] long be if the Lord will to see you—The masters name of the shipe is John Corbin of Plimouth.

XXIII.

Francis Kirby to John Winthrop, Jr.

To his very kind frend M^r John Wyntthrop the younger at Agawam or elsewher this deliver in New England, this deliver.

London this 26th of Feb^r 1633.

Lovinge frend M^r Winthrop. Yours per M^r Graves with 220^{li} of bever and the 2 otter skins (1 for my sister Downeinge and 1 for Ed. Howes) I received accordinge to your letter. The bever is a pretty good sort of bever. There was a sort of thin lethered skins very light and yet full of wool which were the best of all and they were in the hogshead, but there were 3 or 4 very small and younge bever,skins which we call bever cubs those were the worst of all for although they be light of lether yet they have little wool and that very bad, the bever hat maker calleth it faint stuffe. So thus much for instruction, now for the matter of the returne of your third part thereof accordinge to your desire in your latter letters of the 20th September. You shall understand that the market is bad for bever, so that

I have forborne to sell it in hope of better, for the Plymouth marchants great parcell hath brought downe the prices. Yet I desirous to follow your commission have sent you such comodities as you wrote for, and I thinke the full value of your $\frac{1}{2}$ part. If it be more or les you are like to hear of it. I have disbursed mony till the bever be sold, and I thinke the things are well bought. My wife and I have done our endeavour therein. I have followed your directions as neer as I could. I could not find any Bridge-water cloth of any colour but red, so that all the coates are red lined with blew, and lace sutable which red as Mr Pinchins note saith is the choise colour of all—for Rugs there are no tawny or mury to be had so priced as 12sh. or therabout—I have bought some mingle coloured cheekered rugs partly tawny, but the most are wholly red and of sundry prices as I shall particularize to you—Such broad cloth blankets as I sent last yeare are not to be had unles bespoke, but I have sent you some brodecloth and some blew blankets. I had bespoke 100li: worth of coloured cloth accordinge to your directions in your former letters and could very hardly refuse it upon your later. I did conceive well of your intended trade with the Natives at Agawam but I perceive your minde is altered. If not I should not have counselled you to hazard your person amonge the Natives after I heard of that pitifull accident of Captain Bruton. Who lost his life the last Somer on the North part of your American Continent, where he had bought of the indians an Unicorn horn and under a frendly pretence to trucke further with him for seahorse teeth and such like they treacherously killed him. He had spent the 2 Somers about that place chiefly to discover a Northwest passage to India but hath not discovered any thinge to purpose. For your new trade of fishinge which you say is hopefull, I should be glad to further so good a thinge. If you shall see a manifest way of doeing profit therby and my brother Downeing also shall by his letters give you to understand his willingnes to adventure therein then you shall presume that I will adventure halfe so much as my brother, so that my halfe may not exceed forty or fifty pounds at the most. In yours of the 13th June you write that some of the things you received you did not know

from other beinge written upon which I confesse was my fault for I did presume you knew them but as I remember I did write you how much of every severall thinge by waight, the hardest to be knowne I suppose was the soda and sandiver—it was 8li: soda and 2li: sandiver, all things else are well known to most men. I paid Ed: Howes 2li: 15sh. 2d. beinge all that remained of the 9li: 12sh. I received for you. for the twigs of quodlin tree I did make use of my brother Joseph Downinge to provide them for mee and he saith, he hath delivered them to one of his neighbours a gardener of Messinge who will pack them up carefully with some 100 young apple and pear trees which he is about to send to your father and some other speciall frends per M^r Graves per whom also I send your goods beinge in one great drifat and one hogshead marked with your marke. I have 2 dosen of short wooled sheep skins provided by former advice from your father in my brother Downinges letters and although I have now advice to the contrary yet I shall send them by the next opportunity if I can not sell them heer, they cost but 18sh. You shall find in the fat a little booke written by Doctor Prideaux against the morality of the 4th commandment. I desire to be remembered to your second selfe my cosen Mary and James and the rest and so I comit you to God and shall ever reste,

Yours at command

FRA. KIRBY.

The wares which I send you are as followeth.

	li.	s.	d.
3 mixt Rugs at 10sh. per Rug is	1	10	0
3 mixt Rugs at 8s. 8d per Rug is	1	06	0
4 mixt Rugs at 10sh 6d. p. Rug	2	02	0
3 Red Rugs at 12sh. 8d. p. Rug	1	18	0
2 Red Rugs at 11sh. 6d. p. Rug	1	03	0
2 Red Rugs at 10sh. 6d. p Rug	1	01	0
3 Red Rugs at 12sh. 6d. p Rug	1	17	6
20	10	17	6
1 paire blankets at 11sh. p. paire	0	11	0
3 paire blankets at 12sh p. paire	1	16	0
1 payre blankets at 10sh p. paire	0	10	0
1 paire blankets at 13sh. p. paire	0	13	0
6	3	10	0

15 yards $\frac{1}{4}$ of broad cloth, for blankets at 3sh. 2d yard	2	08	2
12 yards $\frac{1}{4}$ broad cloth at 2sh. 11d per yard	1	15	8
16 yards $\frac{1}{2}$ broad cloth at 2sh. 8d. p. yard	2	04	0
17 yards $\frac{3}{4}$ broad cloth at 2sh. 8d p. yard	2	07	4
61 $\frac{3}{4}$ will be 12 paire long blankets at the least	8	15	2
for the coates			
85 $\frac{1}{2}$ yards red Bridgwater at 2sh. 1d per yard	8	18	2
72 $\frac{1}{4}$ y: blew cotton to line the coates at 15d p. yard	4	10	6
15 dosen of statute lace at 1d per yard	0	15	0
3 groce $\frac{1}{2}$ of thrid buttons	0	02	6
portorage of the clothe	0	00	7
paid the tailer for makeing 24 coates	2	00	0
p'd for a drifat and hoops nailes and cartage	16	06	9
	0	10	8
	10	17	6
	03	10	0
	40	00	5

The coates stand you in about 13sh. 7d p. coate heer besides the charges. Other things you shall find a paper upon every severall peice his price.

Postscriptum. 8^o Martii. I had provided your goods to send per M^r Graves and it hath been in the warehouse at the waterside for him this 10 daies but he saith he can not take it in so that by his advise I now send it per M^r Crowther I have not yet paid the freight nor received bills of ladeinge but I will do both so soone as I can speake with M^r Crowther and will send a bill of ladeinge to your father.

XXIV.

Francis Kirby to John Winthrop, Jr.

To his much respected frend M^r John Winthrop the younger at Agawam or elsewhere in New England This deliver — Per amicum quem Deus conservat.

London this 11th of Aprill 1634.

Lovinge and kind frend M^r Winthrop. I wrote at large lately per M^r Graves of 1 fat and 1 hogshhead shipped in M^r Crowther the Jonas per M^r Graves his advice himselfe being not able (as he said) to take it in unles he should

leave out some of his passengers goods. I have inclosed bills of ladinge to your father, since the date of those your letters I have paid the freight primage avarage and all other charges. The freight being 3^{li} 15sh. at 3^{li} per tun prime and avarage 3sh. 6d. I have lefte nothinge for you to pay. I pray forget not to put to account what charge you have been at with the tripartable goods. I thinke I have sent you very neer the value of your third of the bever that you sent in returne. I have now sold it but the mony will not be due before michaelmas next, about which time I hope we shall receive some more bever from you for the partable account. I do not perceive my brother Downeinge to be forward to joine with you in the fishinge trade. I have intreated him to write you a resolved answer which I have not from him yet, and as I wrote you before, my resolution depends upon him, without him nothinge therein, with him halfe so much as hee so that my part may not exceed 40 or 50li. at the most, I have disbursed for this goods with the freight and other charges 44li. 4s 3d if I mistake not. You shall find every particular mentioned in my letters per M^r Graves, also every severall rug and paire of blankets hath his price written upon it. The 24 coates cost you about 13sh 7d per coat, besides the charge upon them. I and my wife, my brother and sister Hill desire to be remembered to your second selfe, your father and mother, my Cosen James, Mary and Susan Downinge and the rest yours and my frends. The bearer herof M^r William Alford, Skinner, is an honest man well knowne to mee and also to M^r Cotton of Boston, I desire you to be acquainted with him and to shew him what kindness you can without prejudice to your selfe, He is come with his family to plant amongst you. Thus for this time I Commit you to God and rest —

Your lovinge frend

FRANC: KIRBY.

My brother Downeinge sendeth part of his estate in Cattle this year *videlicet*, sheep and Cowes. I thinke it were not amisse for you to take some of his Cattle upon such termes as M^r Dillingham hath done, seeinge you have other imployment for your stocke.

XXV.

Roger Williams to John Winthrop, Jr.

For his honoured kind Friend Mr John Winthrop at Pe-
 quet — These —

Nar. 22. 4. 45 (so call'd). [Narraganset, 22 June, 1645.]

Sir: Best salutacions &c W^m Cheesbrough now come
 in shall be readily assisted for your and his owne sake.
 Major Bourne is come in: I have (by Providence) seene
 divers papers (returning now yours thanckfully) which are
 snatcht from me againe I have therefore bene bold to send
 you the Medulla and the Magnalia Dei — Pardon me if I
 request you in my name to transferr the paper to Capt.
 Mason who saith he loves me: God is love in him only
 I desire to be yours ever
 ROGER WILLIAMS.

Loving Salutes to your dearest and kind sister. I have
 bene very sick of cold and feaver but God hath bene gra-
 cious to me: I am not yet resolved of a course for my
 daughter: If youre powder (with directions) might be
 sent without trouble I should first wait upon God in that
 way: however 'tis best to wait on him. If the Ingredi-
 ents be costly I shall thanckfully account. I have books
 that prescribe powders &c but yours is probatum in this
 Countrey.

XXVI.

Roger Williams to John Winthrop, Jr.

For the worshipfull and his much honoured kind friend
 Mr John Winthrop at Namêug — These.

Cawcaumsqússick 28. 3. 47 (so call'd).

Worthy Sir — Loving respects and salutacions to your
 kind self and your kindest Companion: somewhile since
 you desired a word of direction about the hay seed. I
 desired my brother to collect his own and other neigh-

bour's observations about it, which (with his respects presented amounts to this —

First — usually 3 bushells seede to one Acre land.

2. It hath bene knowne to spread to mat &c the Indian hills being only scrapt or leveld.

3. This may be done at any time of the yeare (but the sooner the better).

4. It is best to sow upon a rayne preceding.

5. Some say let the ripe grasse stand untill it seede and the wind disperse it (susque deque) up and downe for it is of that thriving and homogeneous nature with the earth that the very dung of cattell that feeds on it will produce the grasse.

6. The off's which can hardly be severed from the seede hath the same productive facultie.

7. Sow it not in an Orchard neere fruit trees for it will steale and rob the trees &c.

Sir — concerning Indian affaires — Reports are various : Lyes are frequent — Private interests (both with Indians and English are many — Yet these things You may and must doe : First kiss Truth where You evidently upon youre soul see it : 2. advance justice, (though upon a child's eyes) 3 seeke and make peace if possible with all men — 4 secure youre owne Life from a revengefull malicious arrow or hatchet : I have bene in danger of them and delivered yet from them Blessed be his holy name in whome I desire to be

Your Worships in all unfayned respects and love

ROGER WILLIAMS.

[Labelled, "Mr Williams about Hay-seed sowing received May 29."]

XXVII.

Roger Williams to John Winthrop, Jr.

Cawcaumsquissick 20. 6. 47 so call'd.

Sir, due respects presented &c : I am importund by Nenékunat, in expresse words to present his respects and love to your honoured Father and to the honoured President of the Commissioners giving great thanckes for the great

favour and kindnes shewed him: Withhall he prayes you earnestly to present his humble suit that since he by reason of his travell and illnes can as yet get no further toward his owne home, and finds he must have much worke with the Natives of these parts before he repaire home, and time to spend exceeding fast; it may be accounted no breach of faythfullnes of his promise if he finish the contribucion he is now about within a few dayes after the punctuall time. The other Sachims upon Agitations have promised their utmost concurrence to finish all within a month from the day of his promise, which time he earnestly requests may be assented to, hoping to make payment before, but not questioning by the expiration of that time. By this bearer he humbly prayes a word of answer that with the more cheerful concurrence of the other Sachims (who joine with him in this request) he may be the more cheerefull in the worke. Sir I discern nothing but realitie and reason in his request otherwise I should not dare to molest you or those honoured persons whome it concernes to whome, with my humble respects, and to youre selfe presented, beseeching the most High to be your portion I rest your worships unworthy

ROGER WILLIAMS.

Pesickosh desired me to present his great thancks for his child. Sir your man is with me at present writing, well, this last of the weeke and will be going instantly: Humble thanckes for the sight of papers from England: The Sea will be the Sea till it be no (more) Revelations 21—
My respects to your dearest.

[The superscription seems this: — “For the Governour I have sent these lines.” — J. B.]

XXVIII.

Roger Williams to John Winthrop, Jr.

For my much honoured kind friend Mr John Winthrop at his howse at Namêug — These.

Caucaumsqússick 23. 7. 48 (so call'd)

Kind Sir — Best salutacions to your deare selves and

loving sister I am bold and yet glad to trouble you, that by this occasion I may heare of your wellfare: Capt. Mason lately requested me to forbid the Narigansetts to hunt at Pequot, and to assure them of his visiting of them if they so did: I have written now an answer which I am bold to request you to send at your next opportunitie: 2 dayes since I was at Providence and then Mr Browne was not returned, only he had writ home some angry passage against the Nariggansetts who are now in expectation of some assault from the English Sir whether please God to visit us with peace or Warr, in life and death I desire to be

Yours ever in Christ Jesus

ROGER WILLIAMS.

Sir our Neighbour Mr Coddington and Capt Patridge 10 dayes since returned from Plymmouth with propositions for Rode Iland to subject to Plymmouth to which himselfe and Portsmouth incline — our other 3 townes decline and Mr Holden and Mr Warner of Warwick came from thence allso, and they say gave satisfaction why they dare not (the other 3 Townes) depart from the Charter: Sir in this division of our Neighbours I have kept myselfe uningaged and presented motions of pacification amongst which I was bold to propose a reference to your worthy selfe and some other friend to be chosen: our Towne yealds to it and Mr Boston (though opposite) and possibly you may have the trouble and honour of a peace-maker.

Sir pray seale the inclosed.

[Labelled, "rec'd Sept' 27. 1648."]

XXIX.

Roger Williams to John Winthrop, Jr.

For his much honoured and beloved Mr John Winthrop at Naméug.

Caucaumsquissick 10. 3. 43 (so call'd).

Sir — Best salutacions to your deare selves and loving sister: In my last I intimated a promise of presenting

you with what here passeth: Captaine Atherton Captaine Prichard Richard Wood and Strong Tucnell have bene with me (as allso W^m Arnold instead of his Sonn Benedict, who withdrew himselfe though sent unto) these 6 or 7 dayes: They were at Nayantiaquet 2 nights; Capt. Atherton purposed to visit you, but they appointing their meeting with all the Sachims at my howse they came back, and this morning (the 4th day of the weeke) they are departed with good content toward the Bay. From the Commissioners they brought severall articles but the maine were 3. Concerning the Mauquawogs et — 2. The payment: 3 Onkas future safetie. To the first they sent answer (and that they confirmed with many asseverations that and one of them voluntarily tooke the Englishmans God to witnes) that they gave not a peny to hire the Mauquawogs against the Monhiggins, but that it was wholly wrought by Wussoonkquassin (which they discovered as a secret) who being bound by Onkas: and Wuttouwuttaurum Onkas his cozen having attempted to shoote a Mauquaw Sachim at that time, resolved with the Mauquawogs (to whome he allso gave Peag) to take revenge upon Onkas: Wussoonkquassin sent them word and desired Peag of them in the spring but they professe they consented not nor sent not a peny, afterwards they sent Waupinhommin up to enquire to Paucomtuckqt and however they have given some of the Mauquawogs peag this yeare (as they have allwayes done) yet they say they are cleare from giving a peny in hire &c: They confesse their enmitie against Onkas and they (to the 2^d) will not rest untill they have finished their payments that they may presente their complaints against Onkas, who (they say) and others Indians within these 3 yeare have committed 13 murthers impuné being out of their reach in the English protection: This last yeare they pleaded they were neer starved and therefore sent but a small quantity: Now they promise upon returne of their men from hunting this winter to make a contribution, the next spring another and so according as they can draw the people to it will not cease to furnish, and if they die their children shall fullfill, and that it is their sore grieffe &c. with much to this purpose: For Onkas they professe neither directly nor indirectly to have to doe with him, yet hope

the English will not deale partially with him: They desired the English receipt of their peag: I produced the Note you sent me, which because it was not signed with your Fathers hand or the Treasurers &c the Messengers promised to send them one from the Bay Nenekunat made great lamentation that you had entertained hard thoughts of him in this busines, and all the Sachims here profest their sorrow and that you had hearkened to Wequashcuck, who they say never contributed nor joined in the Pequet wars, and now flatters to draw his neck out of the payments to the English: They hope you will not countenance him to rob Nenekunat of those hunting places which the Commissioners gave him leave to make use of and he with the English had fought for with the expense of much treasure and hazard of his life: They desire that he may and Causasemon and the rest of the Pequets be as youre little dogs but not as youre confederates which they say is unworthy youreselfe &c. Sir I perceave the English about the Bay enquire after new places: Capt. Atherton prayes me shortly to convey a letter to you: I forgot one passage that the Sachims discover'd that Wussoonckquassin gave peag to the Mauquaûwogs to retreat: It seemes they are (Switzer like) mercenary; and were hired on and of: These Sachims I believe desire cordially to hould friendship with both the English and the Mauquaûwogs together: I am confident (whether they lye or not about Wussoonckquassin) that they never intended hurt against the English nor yourselfe and yourse especially to whome they professe great respect and jointly they desire that Wequashcuck may come back to Quawnecontaûkit from whence he went for if he joyne with Onkas they suspect he will secretly be a means of some of their Deaths. Lastly whereas they heard that the women with you were something fearfull Nenekunat prayes M^{rs} Winthrop to be assured that there never was nor never shall be to his knowledge the least offence given to her or her neighbours by any of his (though he hath learnt it partly by your just abhorring of Onkas his outrageous carriage among you and of which I have not softly told these Messengers and the admired partialitie in the case) For a token of his fideletie to M^{rs} Winthrop Nenekunat he prays me to

write that all the women of his towne shall present M^r Winthrop with a present of corne at Pwacatuck if she please to send in any conveyance to Pwouacatuck for it: Sir to gratifie them I am that bold with you and desiring your æternall peace I rest your worships unworthy

ROGER WILLIAMS.

Sir

I formerly writ to you and now still crave your help with Wequashcuick who keepees basely from me for 5 or 6 coats and can neither get Peag nor cloth.

[Labelled, "Rec'd Oct' 16. 1648."]

XXX.

Roger Williams to John Winthrop, Jr.

For his much honoured and beloved M^r John Winthrop at Nameug.

Caucaumsquissick 7. 9. 48:

Kind Sir—best salutacions &c. I am requested by letter of Captaine Atherton to certifie what I can advise about Block Iland whether it might be had of the Natives, for divers of the English (it seemes to my conjecture) Upon some agitations the last court have thoughts this way Sir Because God hath pitcht youre tent these wayes and you know much among the Natives of these parts I judg'd it not unfit to pray you helpe me with a word of youre information, before I write what otherwise I can, from the Barbarians. The Councells of the most High are deepe concerning us poore grasshoppers, hopping and skipping from branch to twig in this vale of teares. W^m Peacock hath had a very heaieve task in carying Joseph with Cattell from you—6 or 7 dayes and nights the poore fellow was seeking them (being lost and scatter'd from Nayan-taquist) then he brought 6 to my howse 4 being finally lost: I tooke what paines I could to get them sought againe and three I heare are found: After which W^m Peacock is now out; and I looke for him this night with those 3: Nene-kunat did his part honestly but the youths and boys thereabouts (by some occasion hollowing) the cattell thence

took the woods: Joseph Wild hath writ to me and I acquaint him with the cause that one man alone can not well drive cattell amongst barbarians especially without an Indian guide — It were exceeding well that 3 or 4 pole were enclosed at Nayantaquist to keep cattell there at night for if God vouchsafe peace and plantations (prosperity) there is great needs of it — Sir I desire to be

Your worships unfained

ROGER WILLIAMS.

[Labelled, "rec'd Nov^r 9. 1648."]

XXXI.

Roger Williams to John Winthrop, Jr.

Nar.

Sir, Loving respects to yourselfe and dearest and Mr^s Lake premised: 2 dayes since Nenekunat came to me and requested me to write 2 letters; the one in answere to Capt. Athertons motion for some English planting on Block Iland and on a neck at Nayantuqit; the other to your selfe in which protesting his Inocencie as to the death of his son in law, with which Onkas, and the Pequots charge him: He prays you (as of yourselfe) to signifie (as much as you can) Items to the Pequots that they be quiet and attempt nothing (at least treacherously) against him, which he suspects, from words from Onkas, that it will be pleasing to the English: He prayes you also to be mindfull of endeavouring to remove Wequashcuik, so constant a provocation before him; and at present he prayes you to send for some skins, which lately as Lord of the place he hath receaved: I hope the English Sachims as I tell him in the spring will heare and gratifie him in his just desires the want of which I guess is the cause that he is not free as yet for Block Iland &c but expresseth much if the English doe him justice against his enemies: Oh Sir how far from nature is the spirit of Christ Jesus that loves and pities, prayes for and doth good to enemies? Sir it is like he will request a line of answer, which, if you please to give, I pray Sir write when either of those ships you

write of are for England, and by which you write your selfe: Allso where M^r Throgmorton is, and whether he desires I should trouble you with the Peag of which I wrote, which I purpose if God please (unles countermanded by either of you) to send immediately upon hearing from you: Sir yours R. W.

Sir, Since I writ this, it pleased God to send a Dutchman for an old debt and the same night M^r Goodyeare also, to whom and his wife (for her former husband) I am indebted, and so was necessitated to make satisfaction to M^r Goodyeare allso. These providences of God so falling will necessarily cause me to be preparing some few dayes more that Peag for M^r Throgmorton: But most certainly it (God please I live) notwithstanding wayes and weather shall be sent — this I write that although M^r Throckmorton should depart or come home yet he may presume on youre faithfullnes and love to dispose of it as he requesteth: Sir youre unworthy — R. W.

Capt. Underhill now here in a Dutch vessell presents loving respects.

[“ No date ” — an old endorsement. — J. B.]

XXXII.

Roger Williams to John Winthrop, Jr.

For the worshipfull M^r John Winthrop at Nameug These.

Sir Respective salutations to you both and sister Lake: At this instant (the first of the weeke toward noone) I receave yourse and shall be glad (if God will) you may gaine a seasonable passage by us before the hardest of winter, although I cannot advice you (but to pray against winter flights and journeyes) yet if the necessitie of Gods providence so cast it I shall be glad that we might have you Prisoner in these parts yet once in a few dayes (though in deepe snow) here is a beaten path &c Sir Nenékunat againe importunes me to write to youre Father and youre

selfe about his and hunting at Pegut, that you would allso be pleased to write to youre Father I have endeavoured to satisfie him what I can, and shall, yet I am willing at present to write to you, not so much conceaving that you can further gratifie him at this time, but that I may by this opportunitie salute you with the tidings from the Bay the last night. Skipper Isaack and Moline are come into the Bay with a Dutch ship and (as it is said) have brought Letters from the States to call home this present Dutch Governoure to answer many complaints both from Dutch and English against him: In this ship are come English passengers and bring word of the great Trialls it pleaseth the Most High and only Wise to exercise both oure native England and these parts allso.

The Prince is said to be strong at sea and among other mischiefes, hath taken Mr Trevice his ship which went from hence, and sent it for France it seemes their Rendezvous.

It is said that after Cromwell had discomfited the Welsh, with 6000 he was forced to incounter 19 thousand Scots of whome he tooke 9000 prisoners &c — great store of Scots and Wellsh are sent and sold as slaves into other parts: Cromwell wrote to the Parliament, that he hoped to be at Edinburg in few dayes. A commission was sent from the Parliament to try the King in the Ile of Wight, lately prevented from escape.

The Prince of Orenge and the States are falling if not already fallen into Warrs which makes some of the States to tender Munnádoes as place of Retreat.

Sir to him in whose favour is Life I leave you, desiring in him to be Your Worships unworthy

ROGER WILLIAMS.

John prayes you to be earnest with Mr Hollet about his howse hoping to be back in a fortnight.

[Labelled, "rec'd decr" — undoubtedly 1648. — J. B.]

XXXIII.

Roger Williams to John Winthrop, Jr.

For his much honoured kind friend Mr John Winthrop, at
his howse at Nameug These.

Cawcaumsquissick.

Sir

Best salutacions presented to you both with humble desires that since it pleaseth God to hinder youre presence this way he may please for his infinite mercy sake in his sons blood to further oure eternall meeting in the presence of him that sits upon the Throne and the Lambe for ever and that the hope thereof may be living and bring forth the fruits of love where it's possible and of lamenting for obstructions. Sir—the affaires of oure Countrey (Vaderland, as the Dutch speak) would have afforded us much conference: the mercifull Lord helpe us to make up in prayer to his holy Majestie &c Sir—for this Land: oure poor Colonie is in civill dissention, their last meetings (at which I have not bene) have fallen into factions—Mr Cottington and Capt. Partridge &c the heads of the one and Capt. Clarke, Mr Easton &c the heads of the other faction—I receive letters from both inviting me &c but I resolve (if the Lord please) not to ingage unles with great hopes of peace making, the peace makers are Sons of God: Our Neighboures the Narigansetts are now consulting and making Peag to carie within a few weekes another payment: Sir about a month since one William Badger a Seaman and now a planter at W^m Fields farme neere Providence past by me travelling to the Sea broke I have received letters since from Capt. Mason (to whome I wrote by him) and heare nothing of him I feare he miscaried for he was alone without a guide: and since I mention Capt. Mason (worthy Sir) I humbly beg of the Father of Lights to guide you in youre converse and neighbourhood with him: In his letters to me he tells me of some extraordinary lifts against Onkas and that he will favoure him, but no more then religion and reason bids him, he promiseth to visit me in his passage this summer Eastward (I quere he

meanes toward Plymmouth) I shall then argue (if God will many things and how it stands with religion and reason that such a monstrous hurrie and affrightment should be offered to an English towne either by Indians or English, unpunished. Sir you have seene many parts of this Worlds snow ball and never found ought but vanitie and vexation, at Nameug shall you find no more except in the Fountaine of living waters: Sir heape coales of fire on Capt. Masons head, conquer evil with good but be not cowardly and overcome with any evill. If you have by you the *Triall of wits* at convenience spare it me a few dayes: however, studie(as the Lord commands your quietnes for which I shall ever pray and endeavoure:

Youré Worships unfayned ROGER WILLIAMS.

XXXIV.

Roger Williams to John Winthrop, Jr.

For his honoured kind friend Mr John Winthrop at Nameug.

Caucaumqússick 29. 11. 48 (so calld).

Sir best salutacions and wishes to the Father of mercies for youre worthy selfe, Yoakfellow, Sister &c.: It must be so in this worlds sea — Sicut fluctus fluctum sic luctus luctum sequitur: And every day hath his sufficiencie or fulnes of evill to all the children of the first sinfull man: No persons, no places exempted from the reach of the first curse. My humble desire is to the most righteous and only wise Judge, that the wood of Christs Gallows (as in Moses act) may be cast into all youre and our bitter waters, that they be sweete and wholesome instructours of the fruits of sin, the sorrowes of others abroad (in our Englands Aheldama) our owne deservings to feele upon our selves bodies and soules (wives and children allso) not by barbarians but devills and that eternally, sorrowes unexpressible inconceivable, and yet (if Christs religion be true) unavoidable, but by the blood of a Saviour &c. Sir pardon

me, this is not the matter. Sir youre letters I speedily dispatcht by a messenger on purpose : For a place I know indeede of one in Plymouth claime and would specifie but that youre spirit being troubled countermanded it againe in youre postscript concerning Elderkin, whome I will (if God will) effectually labour with and write the issue with speede : All our neighbours the barbarians, and run up and downe and consult ; partly suspecting like dealings : Partly ready to fall upon the Monhiggins at your word, and a world of foolish agitations I could trouble you with but I tould the Chiefest yesterday that it is not our manner to be rash and that you will be silent till youre Father and other ancient Sachims speak first &c. Sir concerning the bags of oare it is of Rode Hand where is certainly affirmed to be both Gold and silver oare upon triall : Mr Codington went to the Bay with his daughter for England and left Captaine Partridge in trust withall the last weeke at New Port George Wright (alias Captaine Wright) stabt with a pike Walter Lettice at Newport, and is in prison the other (if not dead) not like to live : Sir yourse ever in all unfeyned respect &c

ROGER WILLIAMS.

I want wax to seale otherwayes I would have exprest something which I reserve till another season (if the Lord will.

XXXV.

Roger Williams to John Winthrop, Jr.

Nar.

Sir best salutacions to youre worthy selfe and yourse premised.

I am glad for youre sake, that it hath pleased God to prevent youre winter travell : though I gladly allso this last weeke expected youre passage and being at Providence hastned purposely to attend you here : Our candle burnes out day and night we neede not hasten its end (by swāling) in unnecessary miseries : Unles God call us for him to

suffer whose oure breath is, and hath promised to such as hate life for him, an æternall. Sir this last weeke I read an Ordinance of both howses (dated 3^r Mon. May last) decreeing Death to some consciences, but imprisonment to farr more, even (upon the point) to all but presbyterian: We have a sound, that Fairfax and Cromwell are proclaimed Traiteurs, but I rather credit that report, that Cromwell only was sent for by the Parliament which it seemes inclines with the King, and the City all against the Army: The Earl of Warwick was gone for Holland with 22 ships pursuing the Prince: M^r Foot and others went to Holland (whether M^r Trevice his ship was caried) and were offered the ship for 2 thousand pound but I cannot heare of their agreement. About 40 from the Parliament went to the King to the Ile of Wight (who was lately and strangely prevented of escape) to treat, but could not agree upon the first viz: that the King should acknowledge the beginning of the war to be his: Sir this is the chiefe of matters told me few dayes since by M^r Throckmorton who came 10 dayes since from the Bay and came well in a full laden vessell to anchor by Sacomet rocks but it pleased God his new Cabell was cut by the rocks and he drove upon Rode Iland shoare, where it is feard the vessell is spoild but (through Gods mercy) he saved his goods: Sir M^r Bruster (by letter) requests me to conveigh three letters and bags of mettall to you. I wish they may have Worth in them especially to draw us up to dig into the Heavens for true treasure: Sir (though M^r Brewster write me not word of it) yet in private I am bold to tell you that I heare it hath pleased God greatly to afflict him in the thornes of this life: He was intended for Virginia, his creditours in the Bay came to Portsmouth and unhung his rudder carried him to the Bay where he was forced to make over all house land cattell and part with all to his chest: Oh how sweet is a drie morsell and an handfull with quietnes from earth and Heaven: Sane nescio de quo scribis furti suspecto; John Jones is thought here to be false or faultie; He said he was youre servant that you gave him 10sh. in Peag to beare his charges, which being stole out of his pocket he borrowed so much of me here in youre name promising to pay me at his returne being to

receave mony for you in the Bay; he had allso 10sh. more to buy for me 2 or 3 necessaries; He took 27sh 6d. of Valentine Mr Smiths man—my neighbour at the trading howse for a drum which he said he left at my howse at Providence which drum cost him 48sh. and he promised to send it by an Indian but refused and offerd to sell it againe at Providence: It is now attached. Mr Brewster requested me to pay the Bag carriers which I have thus orderd that 6 awle blades I pay to a Native to cary to Nenékunats and pray you to pay 6 more to him that brings them to you: I am sorry you had no more corne from Nenékunat yet glad you had so much for I am forced to pay 4sh. the bushell for all I spend: Sir I have not knowne the like of Indian madnes: The Father of Lights cause us to blesse him for and with oure reason, remembring Nabuchadnezzar.

Sir I desire to be yourse ever in Christ Jesus

ROGER WILLIAMS.

[Probably written in February, or early in March, 1648-9. — J. S.]

XXXVI.

Roger Williams to John Winthrop, Jr.

For the worshipfull his kind friend Mr John Winthrop at Naméug.

Caucaúmsquussick 1. 48 (so call'd).

Sir, Best respects and love presented, and thanks hearty for your letters former and latter all now receaved: I am againe importun'd by our neighbour Sachims (having heard of Wequashcucks carying of Peag to Capt. Mason) to pray you to informe them whether that Peag be part of the payment; because Wequashcuck and his company refuse to pay. They desire me allso to write to the Bay about it, which I deferr to do untill their payments goe, which are something delay'd because of the death of Nenékunats wives mother which is the same you write of. Wequashcucks mother, and it is now Qunnántacaun, that is Lam-

entation. Sir, since I wrote to you our 4 townes met by Deputies 6 out of a Towne: This Court last weeke wrote to me Infourmacion of their choice of my selfe Dep: President in the Absence of the President, who, whether they have fixed on yourselfe, or M^r Coddingtons faction prævaile to keepe his name in (now gone for England) I can not yet learne) but I have excused my selfe for some Reasons and I hope they have chosen better: I wrote to them about an Act of Oblivion which (blessed be the God of Peace) they have past, and have appointed a Court of Election in the 3^d month at Warwick: Sir, I am exceedingly glad of youre beginnings at Pwocketuck—I pray faile not to enquire whether there or from Monbiggin or Quunihicut you can helpe me to 100 bushels of Indian Corne: To youre deare yoakfellow and sister respective salutacion: The Sun of Righteousnes graciously shine on you I desire unfaignedly to be youre worships unfayned in love —
R. W.

The Sachims pray you to tell them whether their Peag will be sold at underrates as Pumhommin comming 2 dayes since from the Bay informes them viz: that they must pay great black at 13 to the peny and small black at 15: and white 8 to the peny—I tell them the last yeare it was measured and so word was sent to me they should pay it by measure.

[Labelled, “rec’d March 23. 1648.”]

XXXVII.

Roger Williams to John Winthrop, Jr.

For his honoured kind friend M^r John Winthrop at Pequot.

Sir I am the more easily perswaded by this barbarian Prince Nenékunat to trouble you so often that I may the oftener heare of youre wellfare and at present how it pleased God to bring you home to yourse againe: Upon youre word, Nenékunat prayes you to send him word, when within 10 dayes (of this 5^t of the weeke present) you will

please to meete him at Wequatúckqut : so it be when Mr Stanton is present : He would confer about Mr Eliots letter and coate, about Wequshcucks usurping at Pwoakatuck, about his present hunting, about the present disposall of the Pequet fields, about his letters to the Bay, which (in youre name) I have almost perswaded to suspend untill the meeting of the Commissioners at Boston : Here is now a great hurrie made by Auqúontis one of those pettie Sachims of whome Mr Eliot wrote to you and me : He hath offerd great abuse to one of the chiefe and Nenékunat is now going to Qunnúnnagut about him I perswade not to engage themselves but send him to the Bay with my letter : Sir Loving respects to M^{rs} Winthrop M^{rs} Lake whome God graciously with youre loving selfe and yourse bind up in the bundle of that life, which is eternall in Christ Jesus, in whome I desire to be

Yourse ever ROGER WILLIAMS.

[No date.]

XXXVIII.

Roger Williams to John Winthrop, Jr.

For the worshipfull Mr John Winthrop at Pequet.

Nar : 9. 3. 49 (so calld).

Sir : Best salutations and wishes presented to your dearest with your self &c : These inclosed came to my hand in 2 severall letters from the Bay inclosed, your brother in a letter from him requesting my helpe &c I have therefore speeded them by the Sachims who will therefore expect some word of tidings from the Bay, which you may please to signifie in one line to me whatever you heare or can [*well*] collect will be any word of tidings and by which occasion (if you have occasion) you may well rescribe : Benedict was desired by the Mayisstrates in the Bay to take [*speciall*] care to charge Wequashcuck concerning [*Nenekunat*]. he hath requested this taske from me which [*this morning*] I purpose to doe (with Gods helpe) carefully :

Sir — 2 dayes since (my boate not being fitted) comming from Providence I was (in Articulo temporis) snatcht by a mercifull and some say a miraculous hand from the Jawes of Death: The Canow being over set some goods to some valem were sunck, some whereof I hope (if God please to recover) however, Blessed be God, and blessed are such whome he correcteth and teacheth in him.

Yours he graciously make me, though unworthy

ROGER WILLIAMS.

[An old endorsement, " May 11. 1649 or 1650," — probably the date of its receipt.

This letter is much torn. † Such words as are supplied by the present interpreter are printed in Italic and included in brackets. — J. B.]

XXXIX.

Roger Williams to John Winthrop, Jr.

To my much respected friend Mr John Winthrop at Pequot.

13. 3. 49 *so call'd.*

Sir — : Salutations &c :

Yours last letter (which you mention I sent by the way of the English since I came hither from Providence: I know of no letter of yours that came back as you write: one of mine to yourself (when you were in the Bay) was met by the Peag Messengers from the Bay and brought by them againe to my hand because (as they conceaved) the whole about Onkas his wounding was not yet (as then) knowne which at your comming hither (by the English Relation) was perfected; tidings from Onkas is that the English come from the Bay to Hartford about Onkas and are appointed to take this way and to take Nenékunat with them: Aquawoce (Wepiteammock) is at the point of death: expectat nos mors ubique cur non nos mortem: In life and death the Sonn of God shine on us, in him

Yourse I desire to be ever unfained —

ROGER WILLIAMS.

XL.

Roger Williams to John Winthrop, Jr.

For his honoured kind friend M^r John Winthrop at Na-
meug — These.

Nar: 26. 3. 49. (*so calld*).

Sir: Loving respects to your deare selfe and dearest
&c: This last of the weeke in the morning y^our man and
all his charge are come just now to me in safetie: I my
selfe allso came hither late last night and wet from War-
wick where this Colony met, and upon discharge of my
service we chose M^r Jo. Smith of Warwick (the Marchant
or Shop keeper that lived at Boston for this yeare President)
Some were bold (though Capt. Clark was gone to the Bay
and absent) to use your name, and generally applauded
and earnestly desired in case of any possible stretching our
bounds to you, or your drawing neare to us though but to
Pwocatuck: One law past that the Natives should no
longer abuse us but that their black should goe with us as
with themselves at 4 p peny. All wines and strong waters
forbidden the natives througout the Colonie only a privi-
ledge betrusted in my hand to spare a little for necessities
&c. Sir tidings are high from England many ships from
many parts say and a Bristoll ship come to the Ile of
Shoales within few dayes confirme that the King and many
great Lords and Parliament men are beheaded: London
was shut up on the day of Execution not a dore to be opened
&c: The States of Holland and the Prince of Orange
(forced by them) consented to proceedings: It is said M^r
Peters preached (after the fashion of England the funeral
sermon to the King after sentence out of the terrible de-
nunciation to the King of Babilon Esa 14. 18. &c: Your
letter to your brother I delivered to M^r Gold (going to
Boston) this weather I presume hinders: M^r Andrewes a
gentleman of Warwick tould me that he came from the
Bay where he heard that the Bay had proclaimed war with
the Narigansetts: I hope it is but mistaken: And yet all
under and while we are under the Sunn nothing but vani-

tie and vexation: The most glorious Son of Righteousness shine graciously on us in him I desire to be Sir ever yours
 ROGER WILLIAMS.

[The old endorsement is, " Mr Williams of the high newes about the king."]

XLI.

Roger Williams to John Winthrop, Jr.

Caucumsquissick 13. 4. 49 (so call'd).

Sir best salutations &c. The last night one of We-quashcucks Peguts brought me very privatly letters from Capt Mason (and as he said from Onkas and Wequashcucks) the letters are kind to myself acknowledging loving letters (and tokens which upon the burning of his howse) he had received from me &c But terrible to all these natives especially to the Sachims and most of all to Nene-kunat: The purport of the letters and concurrence of circumstances seem to me to imply some present conclusions (from Qunnihiticut) of hostilitie, and I question whether or no present and speedie before the meeting of Commissioners, which I saw lately from the Court under Mr Nowell's hand not to be till the 7th month: The murthring of Onkas is alleadged by stabbing and since attempted by witches &c. The conclusion is therefore Ruine — The words of the letter are: If nothing but blood will satisfie them I doubt not but they may have their fill: And again I perceave such an obstinate willfullness joined with desperate malicious practices that I thinck and believe they are sealed to destruction: Sir there are many devices in a mans heart but the counsell of Jehovah shall stand. If he have a holy and righteous purpose to make us drinck of our mothers cup: The holynes nor power nor policie of New England can stop his hand: He be pleased to prevent it if not to sweeten it: Sir I pray if you heare ought, signifie in a line, and you shall not faile of my poore papers and prayers.

Yours unfayned — R. W.

Your letters and friends were here some dayes with me: This last choice at Warwick (according to my soules wish and endeavour) hath given me rest others are chosen, M^r John Clark at New Port to whome and all my friends on the Iland I wrote effectually, thether they went I heare nothing since: If power had beene with me such a work of mercy (although to strangers) I hope, by the Lords assistance shall not escape me: and I have promised my assistance to M^r Clarke and others at Newport, if any blame or dammage befall them from the Colony or elsewhere. Sir I forgot to thanck you for the pamphlets although (not having bene lately at Providence) I have them not: but I have sent for them: I have here now with me my eldest daughter, of 17 Her younger sister of 15 hath had natures course before her which she wanting, a fluxe of reume hath much affected her head and right eye, she hath taken much physick and bene let blood but yet no change, she is advised by some to the Bay: I pray advise me to whome you judge fittest to addresse unto of the Bayes Phycitians:

Sir—I heare a smith of youre towne hath left you and saith I sent for him 'tis most untrue though we want one at Providence, yet I should condemne in myself or any to invite any convenience or commoditie from our friends: I know him not nor ever spake (to my knowledge about him. M^r Throckmorton hath lately brought in some corne from Hemstead and those parts but extraordinarie deare I pay him 6sh. for Indian and 8sh. for wheat. These raines if God please to give peace promise hopes of plenty.

Two dayes since letters from my brother: he saith a ship was come to the Bay from England: She was not come yet in the River: a loyter went aboard, brought the confirmation of the Kings death but no other particulars. The ever living King of Kings shine on us &c.

[Labelled, "Rec'd June 15. 1649."]

XLII.

John Winthrop, Jr., to Roger Williams.

To my much respected friend M^r Roger Williams.

Pequot Octob: 7. 50.

Sir This afternoone 2 Indians came to me who said they were sent by Nenekunnath to informe me that there were an 100 Englishmen at Webetummacks where also your selfe and all the Narygansetts Sachems were, that Nenek: and the Sachems were bound by the English which although I doe not believe, yet they affirming confidently that your selfe are at Webetummacks, I thought it fitt (they desiring also a letter) to request a word or 2 from you what the matter is. I have not heard what hath beene determined by the Commissioners, in any particular, but these indians hasty coming and as hasty returning, makes me thinke there is eyther some message to the Indians by some considerable number of persons, or they have heard some reports which makes them feare something to be done: because I am wholly ignorant of matters I desire to know the truth and so with my love remembered I rest

Your loving friend

JOHN WINTHROP.

I pray informe what English men, what number, whom chief.

XLIII.

Roger Williams to John Winthrop, Jr.

Nar: 9. 8. 50 (so calld.)

S^r best respects and love presented to your selfe and dearest. My howse is now filled with souldiers and therefore in hast I write in an Indian house: It hath pleased God to give me, and the English, and the Natives that were met togeather and the whole land I believe a gracious deliverance from the plauge of warr: On the last day last came to my howse Capt. Atherton with above 20 souldiers and 3 horse: The Capt. requested me presently

to travell to the Sachims (met together in mourning for Wepiteammocks dead son within 3 or 4 mile of my house) and to demand the rest of the pay 308 fath: and 200 more for these charges &c. I went alone and drew them out of the mourning howse who answered they were ever resolved to pay but they were distracted by that peace broke by the Monhiggins in that Hostilitie begun upon them at Pequot which they answered not because of the English; but expected satisfaction, but receive none &c Yet they refused not to pay: I returned and the Capt. with me went to them and 2 or 3 souldiers as was agreed and after a litle discourse we agreed in the same place to meete on the second day: We did and all day till night, the Capt. demanded the peag or two Sachims the Natives promised peag within a litle time: the Capt. would have 1 or 2 present and in the evening drew up his men (unknowne to me sent for) round about the Sachims in a hole and the Indians (20 for one of us) armed and ready with guns and bowes about us the Capt. desired me to tell the Sachims he would take by force Nenekunat and Pesiccosh then I protested to the Capt. before Indians and English I was betraid for first I would not have hazarded life or blood for a litle money: 2 if my cause and call were right I would not be desperate with so few men to assault Kings in the midst of such guards about us, and I had not so much as knife or stick about me: After long Agitations upon the ticklish point of a great slaughter (as all the souldiers now confesse) the God of mercy appeared. I perswaded the Capt. to stay at my howse 4 dayes and the natives within 4 dayes to bring in the peag and I would lay downe 10 fath: (as formerly I had done 20 (God knowes beyond my Abilitie).

Sir to morrow the peag is to come I hope such a quantitie as will stop proceedings: I tould the Capt: he had desperatly betraid me and him selfe: he tells me he will give me good satisfaction before he depart: I presume he feares God in the maine but feare he can never satisfie me nor his owne conscience, which I hope the Lord will shew him and shew the Countrey what dangerous Coun-cells the Commissioners produce: which makes me feare God is preparing a Warr in the Countrey. Just now a

letter from Rode Island comes for my voyage for Engl: but as yet I resolve not God graciously be pleased to set our Affections on another Countrey and him selfe above in his deare Son.

Sir yours in him I desire to be unfained

R: W.

[Labelled, "Mr Williams 8. 9. 49." There seems to be a mistake in this date. Mr. Williams calls it 1650. — J. B.]

XLIV.

John Winthrop, Jr., to Roger Williams.

Pequot Nov^r 10. 1650.

Sir

I received your letter this morning and must write back in hast, the messengers being hastily to returne, thanking you for the intelligence of this matter, which neyther from the Commissioners or from any of the Government or any other way I have had the least intimation either by message, or letter. I thanke you chiefly for your endeavours of bringing the Indians to a peaceable conclusion of matters. The whole countrey are much obliged to you for your care herein, as formerly for your labours and travailes in this kind, which they cannot be so sensible of, who doe not fully understand the nature and manner of the indians who are brought to a right [*cet. desunt.*]

[This fragment seems to be the answer of Governor Winthrop to the preceding letter. Upon the back in Governor W.'s hand, — "Copy of my letter to Mr Williams in answer to his of 8. 9. 49." It should be remarked that Governor W. makes the same mistake, as regards the date, as in his endorsement on Mr. Williams's letter. — J. B.]

XLV.

Roger Williams to John Winthrop, Jr.

Sir Loving respects to you both with M^{rs} Lake and yours: By this opportunitie I am bold to inform you that from the Bay I heare of the sentence on Mr Clarke, to be whipt or pay 20£: Obadiah Holmes whipt or 30£: on John Crandall whipt or 5£: This bearer heares of no

payment nor execution but rather a Demurr, and some kind of conference: The Father of lights graciously guide them and us in such paths for other succour then that (in his mouth) Christ Jesus were not among the Churches Revelat: 1.) Sir upon those provocations that lately (as in my last I hinted Auquontis gave the Sachims, Nenekunat Wepitammock and Pesiccosh went in person to their towne (Chaubatick) and upon Pummakommis telling the Sachims that he was as great a Sachim as they, they all fell together by the eares: yet no blood spilt: The Chaubatick Indians send to the Bay: They say Auquontis is sent for and Neneskunat, but I know no certaine other then messengers passing to and againe from Chaubatick to the Bay. Here was last weeke M^r Sellick of Boston and M^r Gardiner a young Merchant to fetch my corne and more from M^r Paine of Sécunck they are bound to the French, unles diverted: They tell me of a ship of 300, come from Barbados, M^r Wall the Master stood upon his guard while he staid there, he brought some passengers former Inhabitants from London whose case was sad there because of the posture of the Iland (where as I have by letter from a Godly friend there, they force all to sweare to Religion and lawes: This M^r Wall hath a new and great designe viz: from hence to the East Indies: The Frigots designed for Barbados were ordered for Silly which they assaulted and tooke Forts and Ordinance and Frigots and drove the Governoure into his last Fort. It hath pleased God to bring youre ancient acquaintance and mine M^r Coddington in M^r Carwithy his ship of 500: He is made Governour of this Colonie for his life: Gen^l Cromwell was not wounded nor defeated (as is said) but sick of flux and feaver and mending and had a victorie over the Scots: Sir this world passeth away and the (σχέμα) fashion, shape and forme [of] it only the word of Jehovah remaines, that word Literall is sweete as it is the field where the mistocall word or treasure Christ Jesus lies hid. In him I hope to be

Youres

R. W.

Sir to M^r Blindman loving salutations.

[No date nor envelope. Last of July or first of August, 1651. — J. S.]

XLVI.

Roger Williams to John Winthrop, Jr.

For his honoured kind friend M^r John Winthrop at Pequot.

Sir Loving respects &c Yourse receaved and the 10sh^s from youre neighbour Elderkin, and letters which shall carefully be sent : I came from Providence last night and was able by Gods Mercifull Providence so to order it that I was their Pilot to my howse here from whence I have provided a Native who with Jo Fosseker I hope will bring them safe to you : The Mercifull Lord helpe you and me to say as Salomon All that comes is vanitie ; All cattell, all goods, all friends, all children &c. I met M^r John Clarke at Providence *recens e carcere*. There was great hammering about the disputation but they could not hit, and although (my much lamented friend) the Governour told him that he was worthy to be hanged &c Yet he was as good as thrust out without pay or whipping &c. But Obadiah Holmes remaines : M^r Carwithy is gone with his Ship to the Eastward for Masts and returnes 3 weekes hence to set saile for England : Sir I have a great suit to you, that at your leasure, you would fit and send something that you find suitable to these Indian bodies in way of purge or vomit ; as allso some drawing plaister and if the charge rise to one or two crownes I shall thankfully send it and commending you and yourse to the only great and good Phycitian desire Sir to be ever yourse in him

R. W.

[No date. Probably August or September, 1651. — J. S.]

XLVII.

Roger Williams to John Winthrop, Jr.

For my honoured kind friend M^r John Winthrop at Pequot.

Nar. 6. 8. 51 (*so called*).

Sir — Once more my loving and deare respects presented

to you both and M^{rs} Lake: being now bound resolvedly (if the Lord please) for our Native Countrey: I am not certaine whether by the way of the English (you know the reason) or by the way of the Dutch: My Neighbours of Providence and Warwick (whom I also lately denied) with importunities have over come me to endeavour the renewing of their liberties upon the occasion of M^r Coddington's late grant. Upon this occasion I have bene advised to sell and have sold this howse to M^r Smith my neighbour, who also may possibly be yours, for I heare he is like to have M^{rs} Chester: Sir I humbly thanck you for all your loving kindnesses to me and mine unworthy — The Father of mercies graciously reward you guide you preserve you save sanctifie and glorifie you in the blood of his deare Son: In whom I mourn I am no more and desire to be yours unfeignedly eternally

ROGER WILLIAMS.

This bearer comming now from England will acquaint you &c.

To all yours and all my friends my loving salutations — M^r Sands of Boston and John Hazell of Secunck are gone before us.

XLVIII.

Rev. John Davenport to John Winthrop, Jr.

To his Honoured freind John Winthrop Esq^r these present in Pequot.

Worthily Honourd Sir,

Upon frequent reports of Gods gracious blessing your labours with good success, in sundry cures, I was desirous to have made a journey to Pequot, to confer with you about the state of my body, and desired brother Andrewes to signifie the same unto you, by whom I understand that there is no conveniencie for myne and my wifes and my sonnes lodging and other accomodacons there, and that your selfe are upon a journey shortly per the Baye. I have

therefore hyred this Indian to be the bearer of these lines, and pray you to returne by him your advise, not concerning my distemper, which I cannot so fully declare, by wrighting, to your satisfaction, and myne owne, as is meete, but concerning my way. My wife inclineth to our travayling with you to Boston, if you judge that a place and time fitt for me to enter into any course of physick, but I heare the apothecary wants supplies of things, unles Carwithy be come. I heare that M^r Lyng etc newly returned from the Baye saw a vessel at sea about 200 tunne coming toward Boston, and I feare that your buisnesses there will not permit liberty for that, and that my body and the season will not suite it: yet if you advize it, as convenient, I shall consider what you propound. If not; my desire is to know, when you purpose to returne, if God please. I was glad when he told me that you had some purpose of coming into these parts, and shall be more glad, if I may understand from yourselfe, that you continue that resolution, and will be pleased to put it into execution, at your returne from the Baye, and to accept of my house for your entertainment, during your abode in these parts, there to refresh yourselfe,

with assurance that you shall be most heartily wellcom to us: If you require it, for the preparing of directions suitable to my case, that I give you notice of it particularly, before hand, I shall, by the next opportunity, answer your desire, upon notice when my letter may probably finde you at home: or, if you incourage us to come to pequot, after your returne, we shall attend you there. But, if you can affoord me some liberty of discourse with you here before your journey to the Baye, I thincke, that would be best: and I should be very much obliged unto you for that your labour of love. However: let me receive such answer as you can, by this bearer. present my true Respects to M^{rs} Winthrop, with loving salutacōns to M^r Blyndman. The Lord Jesus dwell with you in peace! In whom I rest,

Sir, yours assured

JOHN DAVENPORTE.

Newhaven this 20th d. of the 6th m. 1653.

XLIX.

Edward Wigglesworth to John Winthrop, Jr.

To the much honoured, Mr John Winthrop at his house
in Pequot, these present —

Much honoured Sir

The great incouragement which I found from my Sons being with you, declaring your willingnes to have come visited mee, had not occasions prevented doth embolden mee to present to your godly and wise consideration a description of my weak and feeble state of my body. Winter was 12 yeares being very hot upon a cold day, I tooke a lift and strain'd my selfe, as I thought in the small of my back, and tooke cold upon it: but felt no paine; but weaknes presently appeared there and ever since. The effect of this appeared betimes in the spring in my head; when I looked upwards being ready to fall backward, and when I looked downward, to fall forward. And in my legs and feet benumbednes, as if they were asleep by lying double under mee. My body was much as it had been by the scurvy a yeare or two before, and therefore thinking it had been the scurvy, I neglected the use of any meanes that spring: But finding that Summer I grew worse, I applyed myselfe in the Autumne to what meanes God presented; as namely hot artificial bathes, I think 16. At the spring following oiles, ointments, plaisters, but all effected nothing, but I grew worse upon them. By this time I was scarce able to goe without a staffe, my weaknes holding mee most in my lower parts first; which hath gathered upward by little and little, that now it is come up to the head, in so much that I have not ability to move one joint in my body, save only my neck a little, but tho' all motion is quite gone yet sense remaineth quick in every part: And thorough the goodnes of God, my understanding, memory, with my eyesight and hearing, remaine untouched: neither is my stomach apt to be offended with food, but a small quantity suitable to my weaknes it can close with. I do not find any sicknes within save onely the

paine of wearines thorough setting and lying. I am not sensible of any obstruction in my inward parts. My flesh is much fallen which began first in my lower parts and now is in my upper parts; but my complexion remaineth pretty ruddy in my face. My age is about 49 yeares.

Now Honoured Sir, my request to you is that you would seriously consider this my condition, and if it shall please God to discover to you any cranny of hope of any degree of cure; that you would be pleased to send me your thoughts in a few lines; whether you would advise mee to come to your plantation; and if so; at what time may bee most seasonable; and whether I may have a suitable room for one in my condition, for myselfe, wife and daughter to sojourn in, and whether your plantation be provided with supplies of provision for pay, or whether I must bring with mee for the supply of my family. If the bearer hereof, my trusty and beloved friend M^r Benjamin Ling, shall abide with you any time, so as you can issue your thoughts, then I should leave it to your godly wisdom whether to write by him, though by the Bay or any other way that may be probably more speedy. Thus having used great libertie and boldnes with you, I commend you, and the guidance of you in this and all other your affaires to the good spirit of God.

and Rest

your poor afflicted Brother in Ch^t

EDWARD WIGGLESWORTH.

New-haven. July 18. [No year given.]

L.

Rev. John Davenport to John Winthrop, Jr.

To his Honoured friend John Winthrop Esq^r these present
at Hartford.

Honoured Sir,

After Brother Molthrops return, I sent another letter to you by the way of Gillford dated the 22^d of y^e 6th wherein I propounded my apprehension touching the months

of October and 9ber and desired your serious thoughts whether that might not be a tolerable and hopefull season for our transportation to England which I still desire and now the rather because, probably that will be the time for the fleet to be upon theyre voyadge thitherward: and then in an ordinary way the michaelmas storms will be over and the cold of winter avoided. Also to your quæries about an house and convenient transportation of yours hither from Pequot, I wrote what our Governor suggested and undertooke, with whom you will now have opportunity of satisfying your selfe by orall discourse. I concluded those lines thus, though it pleaseth you to insist in the difficulties formerly alleadged concerning my case as still deterring you from giving me such encouragement as I desire, and as you see my case requireth; yet, if you will but in two or three words, say thus much to me, that I may venture to stay here this winter, (and neglecting the opportunity of this passage in the 8th or 9th months) without manifest danger of rendering myself incurable by delaies, and that you will apply such means as you conceive to be suitable to my condition; I will willingly, upon such encouragement from you stay, this winter, wayting upon God for his blessing whereunto I shall now add the reason of my desiring such encouragement from you, which is, for the satisfaction of my conscience, because of the 6th comāndment, that I have not of myne owne head or without a justifiable ground, waved such a season as Gods providence seemeth to present unto me by the fleete wherein Brother Martin is M^r of a speciall good ship where good accomodations may be rationally expected, if he hath seasonable notice of my purpose. Also I find this clause in your last letter (If upon further thoughts, you can consider anything that may be usefull for the stopping of my distemper, that may be had, you will wrighte further) and if you can find meanes to prepare any special arcanum, that may probably doe me good, for the stopping the proceeding thereof, you will not neglect to indeavour) this clause I look at as a full expression of your love and desire of procuring my recovery, by the blessing of God and as a strong obligation unto me to returne many hearty thanks to you for such a favor. Nor can I omit to intreate your

effectuall prosecution of that your purpose towards me, and some notice from you whether you have considered and found accordingly, to your own satisfaction: and whether I may expect, with relyance upon you, any helpe from you, this Autumn y^e season now beginning to suite the use of means. pardon (Worthy Sir) this boldness and interruption of your more weighty affairs and be pleased to return speedily as cleare and satisfying an answer as you can, that I may understand my way, by the will of God, upon whom I waite desiring to be found always in his way, as one wholly unbyassed to any way of my owne choosing. Farewell, Honored Sir, in our Lord Jesus in whom I rest

your very much obliged friend to serve you

JOHN DAVENPORT.

Newhaven y^e 11th day of the 7th month. 54.

LI.

Roger Williams to John Winthrop.

New Providence this 15th of the 5th.

Sir,

For the captives and bootie I never heard any of these Natives question the Acts of the English, only that Native who brought letters to you from Capt. Patrick and was twice at Boston related so much as I wrote of in my former, at his return to the Nanhiggansick, viz. that your-selfe should be angry with the English &c. I met since with him and he sayth, he had it not from yourselfe but an English man at Roxbury. I thought good to cleare your name and remoove suspicions from M^r Stoughton &c.

Wequash is alive so is also the other like to recover of his wound. I never heard that Miantunnomu was displeased with Wequash for any service to the English, but that Wequash was suspected to deale falsely when he went to hunt for the Pequots at the rivers mouth. Tis true there is no feare of God before their eye and all the cords that ever bound the barbarous to forreiners were made of selfe and covetousnes. Yet if I mistake not, I

observe in Miantunnomu some sparkes of true friendship. Could it be deeply imprinted into him that the English never intended to despoile him of the country, I probably conjecture his friendship would appear in attending of us with 500 men (in case) against any forreigne Enemie.

The Neepmucks are returned with 3 heads of the Wun-nashoatuckoogs. They slue 6, wounded many, and brought home 20 Captives.

Those Inlanders are fled up toward the Mowhauogs. So they say is Sasacous. Our friends at Qunnihticut are to cast a jealous eye at that people. They say (unles they are belied) that they *wish* to warr with the English &c.

Truely, Sir, to speake my thoughts, in your eare frely, I blesse the Lord for your mercifull dealing &c. but feare that some innocent blood cryes at Qunnihticut. Many things may be spoken to prove the Lords perpetuall warr with Amalek extraordinary and misticall: but the 2 Kings 14. 5. 6 is a bright light discovering the ordinary path wherein to walke and please him. If the Pequots were murtherers (though pretending revenge for Sasacous his fathers death, which the Dutch affirmed was from M^r Governor) yet not comparable to those treacherous servants that slue their Lord and King Joash K. of Judah and tipe of Jesus, yet the fathers only perish in their sinn, in the place quoted &c. The blessed Lambe of God wash away Iniquitie and receave us graciously. Thus with best salutes to your honored selfe and yours, M^r Deputie, M^r Bellingham and other honored friends with them and dayly cryes to the Father of mercies for you

I rest your worships unfained

ROGER WILLIAMS.

Postscript)

Sir, to yours brought by Juanemo on the Lords day. I could have little speech with him; but concerning Miantunnomu, I have not heard as yet of any unfaythfullnes towards us. I know they bely each other, and I observe our countrymen have almost quite forgotten our great pretences to King and State and all the world concerning their soules &c. I shall desire to attend with my poore helpe to discover any perfidious dealing, and shall desire the re-

venge of it for a common good and peace, though my selfe and mine should perish by it. Yet I feare the Lords quarrell is not ended, for which the warr began, viz. the litle sence (I speak for the generall) (that I can heare of) of their soules condition and our large protestations that way &c. The generall speech is, all must be rooted out &c. The body of the Pequien men yet live, and are only removed from their dens. The good Lord grant, that the Mowhaugs and they and the *whole* at the last unite not. For mine owne part I cannot be without suspicions of it.

Sir, I thankfully *expect* a litle of your helpe (in a way of justice and æquitie) concerning another un[just] debtor of mine, Mr Ludlow, from whom allso (in mine absence) I [have] much suffered. The good Lord smile upon you and yours in the face of his annointed.

Your worshipps unworthy

R. W.

[In transcribing the foregoing letter, much uncertainty was felt, at several passages, from the failure of the texture of the paper and the disappearance of the ink. But confidence is felt in the copy of every word, except the *Italicized* ones. A small part of the paper is lost, where was, probably, given what is here inserted in [].

The well known hand of the first Governor Winthrop, to whom, without possibility of doubt, the letter was addressed, has labelled it, — “Mr W^m about Wequash and the Neipnetts.”

For the year of writing, we may find adequate proof in favor of 1637. It is seen that the date is 15th of 5th month, or July. That day was Saturday. We learn from Winthrop's History, I. 232, that Juanemo (or Ayanemo, as he spells the name) had in that year come to Boston, and made certain propositions, to which answer was promised on the next day. The first day mentioned was 12 of 5, which was Wednesday. Difficulties occurring on the assigned day, the Sachem was not dismissed, lovingly, until Friday, and then with written instructions to our friends in the neighbouring colony how to treat him. He could not, therefore, before Sunday, well deliver his despatches to Williams, whose reply to the instructions, given in the postscript, was written on Monday, probably, though the date of this part of the letter is not given.

Both Wequash and Juanemo were unfriends, if not open enemies, of Miantunnomu. — Σ.]

NOTE. — This letter is not among the papers of the Winthrop family, but in the Library of the Historical Society, and was received too late to be inserted in its place. The remainder of the Winthrop Papers will be published in the next volume.

